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CONTENTS

IRAN

Iranian Embassy in Bahrain Denies Kurdish Resurgence (GULF DAILY NEWS, 23 Aug 80).....	1
Tehran Suburb Residents Demand Closure of Non-Islamic Bookstores (KEYHAN, 21 Aug 80).....	3
Leftist Organizations' Babol Offices Await Majles Decision (KEYHAN, 25 Aug 80).....	4
Briefs	
Housing Announcement	5
Expropriation of Theaters	5
Denial of Flight Stoppages	6
New 'Radio Iran' Program	6
Denial of Mahabad Clash	6
Fars Tribal Teachers	6
Azerbaijan Governor: 'Calm, Restraint'	7
Seizure of Leftist Newspapers	7
Mashhad Runway Improvement	7
Ambassador to Italy	7
Khuzestan Appointments	8
Dezful Cooperative Statistics	8
New Ramhormoz Friday Imam	8
Credit for Shush	8
Credit for Food Dams	8
Kazerun Governor Appointed	8
Fars Development Projects	8
Credit for Khorramshahr	9
Laristan Governor Appointed	9
Persepolis Hospitals	9
Khuzestan Development Projects	9
Purging Committee Formed	9

Animal Fodder Exports Banned	9
Islamic Society Formation	9
Customs Chief Arrested, Released	10
KUWAIT	
Security Problems Seen as Threat to Gulf (AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO, 11 Aug 80).....	11
LEBANON	
Causes of Clashes Between Amal, National Movement Analyzed (Abd-al-Hadi Mahfuz; AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI, 9-15 Jun 80).....	13
Obstacles Facing Dispensation of Justice Discussed (May Kahhalah; AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI, 2-8 Jun 80).....	20
Report Discusses Steps Taken To Develop Agriculture (AL-ANWAR, 19 Jun 80).....	24
French Offer To Develop Railroad Service Approved (AL-SAFIR, 21 Jun 80).....	28
Establishment of Free Zones for Insurance Companies Proposed (AL-SAFIR, 21 Jun 80).....	30
Defense Ministry's General Management Department Reorganized (AL-NAHAR, 20 Jun 80).....	32
LIBYA	
Colonel Qadhdhafi Meets With People's Committees (BULLETIN QUOTIDIEN DE L'AGENCE JAMAHIRIYA-PRESSE, 13 Jul 80).....	41
Qadhdhafi Leads Friday Prayer in Jado (BULLETIN QUOTIDIEN DE L'AGENCE JAMAHIRIYA-PRESSE, 13 Jul 80).....	43
'AL-ZAHAF AL-AKHDAR' Calls for Redefining of the Arab (BULLETIN QUOTIDIEN DE L'AGENCE JAMAHIRIYA-PRESSE, 15 Jul 80).....	45
TUNISIA	
Preparatory Activities for Socialist Inter-African Meeting (DIALOGUE, 21 Jul 80).....	47

IRANIAN EMBASSY IN BAHRAIN DENIES KURDISH RESURGENCE

GF231100 Manama GULF DAILY NEWS in English 23 Aug 80 p 6

[Text] Iran's Embassy in Bahrain has hit out strongly at recent reports about a resurgence of Kurdish moves to gain autonomy.

The reports said the Kurds were on the move again, arming themselves to take on the Iranian Government, while Kurds now control their own areas, exercising de facto control in defiance of central authority.

Iran is firmly in control of the whole country, including Kurdish areas, said charge d'affaires in Bahrain, Hasan Shoshtari Zadeh.

"It is not true that some of the districts are under Kurdish control, as reported by international news agencies," he said in an official statement.

Iranian soldiers entering Kurdish towns have met with respect and a warm welcome from local people, he notes. Mr Zadeh goes on to describe how Kurds themselves aided and abetted the Iranian Islamic Revolution against the rule of the shah.

It was after this that "foreign powers" began to conspire against the Islamic government, stirring up problems in various areas.

With the help of Iraqi traitors, the statement goes on, these powers sowed dissidence in Khuzestan, resulting in a mutiny. When this was crushed, the intriguing began in Kurdistan. Now the official line is that America, Russia and China are agitating for Kurdish autonomy in an attempt to sow discord in Iran.

"The people following them are not pure Kurds, and have no connection with them," alleges Mr Zadeh. He lists the origin of the agitators:

The Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP), of which one part is under American influence, and the other under Russian.

The Communist Organization of Religious Fighters, Mojahedin.

The Tudeh Communist Party, known to have conspired against Dr Mossadeq.

The (Kumla) Party, financed, armed and trained by Iraq.

The Al Kahideen Party, inspired by China.

Ezzedin Hoseyni and his followers from among the ranks of the clergy, all SAVAK traitors, bankrolled by that organization.

All these parties, says Zadeh, are backing the Kurds, asking for self-determination.

The statement offers another piece of evidence of an imperialist plot.

"In the village of Mahabad Revolutionary Guards discovered arms bearing Israeli trademarks in a house, showing that imperialists are working together to overthrow the Islamic regime."

Agitators misleading the Kurds prevented people from praying on Friday, or stopped them from attending mosques, or prohibited pictures of Ayatollah Khomeyni to be displayed, says Zadeh.

The statement concludes: "Like all Iranians, Kurds suffered under the shah, who neglected outlying areas. But they were not the worst off in the country. Baluchistan va Sistan had no drinking water, no good land, no schools or health centres.

"The Islamic government in Iran is not anti-Kurd. They themselves are co-operating with the government, and they believe in the Islamic Revolution."

CSO: 4920

TEHRAN SUBURB RESIDENTS DEMAND CLOSURE OF NON-ISLAMIC BOOKSTORES

LD271525 Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 21 Aug 80 p 2

[Unattributed report: "During Protest March, Residents of Naziabad's Bazar-e Dovvom District Close Down All Bookstores Supporting the Mojahedin-e Khalq, Peykar and the Rah-e Kargar Groups"]

[Text] Following the release of six supporters of the Mojahedin-e Khalq who had been arrested in a clash in Naziabad [working class suburb of Tehran], resident of the Bazar-e Dovvom [District] of Naziabad staged a protest march during which the people voiced strong demands for the closure of Mojahedin, Peykar and Rah-e Kargar bookstores.

Finally, the area 13 komiteh left the matter to the people themselves, abdicating responsibility in the matter.

The KEYHAN correspondent, who had been informed of the incident, contacted the area 13 komiteh officials and asked for details.

An official said: "On 26.5.59 [17 August] a clash took place between Mojahedin-e Khalq supporters and the people. Storekeepers and residents in the area closed down all of the Mojahedin, Peykar and Rah-e Kargar bookstores in the area which led to a clash between the groups. One person was injured in the clash.

"The area 13 komiteh intervened and arrested 6 supporters of these groups, but released them after several hours yesterday evening.

"This led to protests and a march by the people of the district, who presented a petition asking for the removal of non-Islamic bookstores and insisted that 'if the komiteh does not stop these people, we shall do so ourselves.'"

The official added: "When the residents of the district stuck to their demands, we abdicated responsibility and left the matter in the hands of the people."

LEFTIST ORGANIZATIONS' BABOL OFFICES AWAIT MAJLES DECISION

LD281433 Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 25 Aug 80 p 15

[KEYHAN correspondent report: "Leftist Groups' Offices Closed Down on Orders of Shar' Magistrate Pending Decision by the Majles"]

[Text] The offices of the Muslim Teachers Movement, the Mojahedin-e Khalq, the Cherikhaye Feda'i-ye Khalq and the offices of several other political groups in Babol were closed down on the orders of the Shar' [religious law] magistrate pending a decision by the Islamic Consultative Assembly.

This decision was taken following a strike by bazaar storekeepers and a group of Babol youth demanding the closure of the political groups' offices.

Beginning yesterday morning, the Babol Bazaar storekeepers closed down the bazaar in Babol and held a strike, after several days of clashes recently between supporters of the Mojahedin-e Khalq and their opponents which resulted in several of the bazaar storekeepers being injured.

In conversation with the KEYHAN correspondent on the subject of the closure of the political groups' offices, Shar' magistrate Aliakbar Seyfi said:

"Following the strike by the bazaar storekeepers and a group of revolutionary youth in the town, and in order to forestall any subsequent incidents, I ordered that the offices of the Muslim Teachers Movement, the Mojahedin-e Khalq, the Cherikhaye Feda'i [as published], the organization of the Cherikhaye Feda-i'ye Khalq and other groups be closed down pending a decision by the Islamic Consultative Assembly, and their public propagandizing be stopped."

CSO: 4906

BRIEFS

HOUSING ANNOUNCEMENT--The following announcement was issued today by Hojjat ol-Eslam Shirazi, the Imam's representative in Dezful's 4th airbase: In the present sensitive period when our dear country is more than ever in need of the armed forces of the Islamic republic and especially the airforce--and the people's support for them is important to both them and the country--it is the duty of all Muslims to do everything in their power to help the members of the armed forces with their financial and moral needs so that they can fight internal or external invaders with determination. The 4th airbase, one of the best military bases in the country, occupies a very important strategic position. According to a detailed study, 45 percent of the married personnel of this base live outside it due to a shortage of accommodation. It is therefore necessary to house them in Dezful, and Andimeskh. Due to unfortunate reasons, they are unable to find houses for rent in those two cities, resulting in a decline of morale. I sincerely request and expect you, my sisters and brothers, to rent your houses to these members of the forces, subject to Islamic law. Not only will you be paying your debt to the revolution but also you will be raising the morale of the personnel and improving the armed forces' preparedness. [Text] [GF301705 Ahvaz Domestic Service in Persian 1230 GMT 30 Aug 80]

EXPROPRIATION OF THEATERS--By order of the chief prosecutor of the Abadan and Khorramshahr Islamic revolution courts, all movie theaters in the two districts are confiscated for the benefit of the oppressed and handed over to the arts unit of the Foundation for the Oppressed. The order of the chief prosecutor of the Abadan and Khorramshahr Islamic revolution court is as follows: In the name of God. As the Khorramshahr and Abadan theaters have long been showing corrupting movies, leading the youths of this country into corruption, and as the revenue of these theaters is illegitimate, all theaters in the two districts are confiscated. They shall be turned over to the newly founded foundation for the oppressed, which is connected to the revolution court. All proprietors of theaters should contact the revolution court; they are no longer entitled to these properties. [Text] [GF311417 Ahvaz Domestic Service in Persian 1230 GMT 31 Aug 80]

DENIAL OF FLIGHT STOPPAGES--According to a Central News Unit report, the Iran National Airlines Corporation, Homa, has announced that the report published on the front page of a Tehran evening paper tonight to the effect that aircraft flights have been halted at Mehrabad Airport is hereby denied. The airline corporation informs compatriots that flights are continuing and that there have been no flight stoppages. [Text] [LD011738 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 1 Sep 80]

NEW 'RADIO IRAN' PROGRAM--Effective today, we will broadcast a new feature every Friday entitled "A Trip in the World With Our Reporters." This feature will include various subjects, especially on what foreign countries, newspapers, magazines, and diplomatic circles have to say about Iran and its problems--economic, political, technical, cultural--or any other topic. [Excerpt] [NC291452 RADIO IRAN (Clandestine) in Persian to Iran 1330 GMT 29 Aug 80]

DENIAL OF MAHABAD CLASH--(?Mojtaba Rafi'i), the deputy in charge of political affairs to the governor general of western Azarbayjan, this morning in a contact with the news unit of the Voice and Vision of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Urumiyeh Center, denied the news about a serious confrontation in Mahabad which was released by REUTER yesterday, quoting him and imperialistic radios like London and the United States. He said: Contrary to the REUTER report, no serious confrontation occurred yesterday between armed forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran and illegally armed persons. But in the Kurdish areas of western Azarbayjan there were scattered confrontations. He also said: The general situation in the region and the city of Mahabad was calm last night. [Text] [LD311038 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 0930 GMT 31 Aug 80]

FARS TRIBAL TEACHERS--Muslim tribal teachers representing the Muslim people of the tribes of (Dar-e Shuri), (Farsimadan), (Sheshboloki), (Kashkoli), [name indistinct], (Arab), (Kordshuri), (Javid), (Doshmant-yari), (Kohmarreh), (Rostam), (Nafar) and others sent a letter to the governor general of Fars today. The letter condemns the plots that the great satan, the United States, is hatching against the southern region of the country by using its servants and asks for immediate action by the government on the matter. The letter also says: Contrary to the belief of the Khans, except for a small group of leftists and Savakists, the rest of the tribes not only do not support these lackeys but will also defeat them at the first opportunity. We will never let these agents of foreign powers use our pure feelings and the purity of some of our brothers to provoke them into action against the regime. Should the Imam order it, we Muslim tribesmen will fight against them to the last drop of our blood in cooperation with our Muslim brothers in the guards and the army. The letter ends with a request for the arrest of all Khans treacherous to the regime. [Text] [GF311721 Shiraz Domestic Service in Persian 1400 GMT 31 Aug 80]

AZERBAIJAN GOVERNOR: 'CALM, RESTRAINT'--Eng Hoseyn Taheri, governor general of western Azarbayjan, spoke on the telephone this morning with the Urumiyeh Center News Unit. He talks about the situation in the area. Referring to the fate of a number of innocent ordinary people who, during the past few days, have been taken hostage by members of the Kurdish Democratic Party on the roads from Miandow AB, Piransham and Naqadeh to Mahabad, he said: Military officials have taken steps to secure the release to these hostages, and we hope that these peaceful measures will prove fruitful. Otherwise, all available facilities will be used to secure the release of these innocent people. Mentioning this issue, he asked the people of western Azarbayjan to try to remain calm in the face of this situation and to refrain from taking retaliatory steps. The governor general of western Azarbayjan also asked the people of this province to treat with kindness and affection the Kurdish brothers who are living in Urumiyeh or have traveled to this region, and to bear in mind that these brothers are Muslims too and are severely upset about all the atrocities committed in the name of the Kurdish masses. [Text] [LD281148 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 9030 GMT 28 Aug 80]

SEIZURE OF LEFTIST NEWSPAPERS--Amol--During the seizure of illegal leftist newspapers in Amol a 2-hour clash took place between the guards and the people on one side and the supporters of the leftist groups on the other. Seizure of the newspapers followed an announcement issued by the governor of Amol, the Islamic revolution prosecutor and the Guards Corps of the town. On Saturday evening various groups of leftists began distributing their publications outside the Khomeyni High School in Amol when they were confronted with protests by the Guards Corps. When the guards attempted to seize the newspapers, the supporters of these groups began to chant slogans aimed against the Guards Corps, and this led to protests by a group of people and ended with a clash taking place. In order to stop this from spreading, guards of the corps began firing into the air, as a result of which the clash ended 2 hours later and clam returned to the town. A number of people were injured and several persons were arrested in the clash. [Text] [LD281429 Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 25 Aug 80 p 15]

MASHHAD RUNWAY IMPROVEMENT--According to a report by the Central News Unit, National Iranian Airways, Homa, has informed all the passengers who have booked seats from Tehran and Mashhad, and vice-versa, that owing to the fact that the Mashhad Airport runway is not ready yet, no flights will take place to and from Mashhad until further notice. If and when the runway is ready to handle large aircraft, the information will be announced to the public. [Text] [LD031834 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 3 Sep 80]

AMBASSADOR TO ITALY--In a statement the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic Republic of Iran has announced: As proposed by the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran and by the agreement of the

Italian Government Dr Mohammad Baqer Nasirsadat-Salami has been appointed as the ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran to Italy. Previously the said person was the spokesman of the Foreign Ministry of the Islamic Republic of Iran. [Text] [LD010538 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 0630 GMT 20 Aug 80 LD]

KHUZESTAN APPOINTMENTS--The public relations office of the Khuzestan governorate has announced the following appointees: Eng Sadeq Najafi, head of the agricultural department of the province; 'Ali Rasuli, head of the cultural department; Mehdi (Heraki), head of PARS NEWS AGENCY; Abdol Hoseyn Mahmudian, head of the Red Crescent Society; and Farzad Nikbakht, head of labor and social affairs. [GF011748 Ahvaz Domestic Service in Persian 1230 GMT 1 Sep 80 GF]

DEZFUL COOPERATIVE STATISTICS--The Khuzestan cooperatives organization has published statistics for the Dezful cooperative during the period 23 July to 22 August. They are as follows: 23,842 kg of wheat surplus were bought from farmers; 56,000 kg of chemical fertilizer, 111 liters of oil products, 13,666 kg of rice, cooking oil and sugar, 18,793 boxes of washing powder, 27,508 bars of soap and 1,101,347 rials' worth of other goods were distributed among farmers by the cooperative. [GF011748 Ahvaz Domestic Service in Persian 1230 GMT 1 Sep 80 GF]

NEW RAMHORMOZ FRIDAY IMAM--According to an order issued by Ayatollah Khomeyni's office in Qom, Sheikh Hasan Navab is appointed the Friday imam of Ramhormoz. [GF301546 Ahvaz Domestic Service in Persian 1230 GMT 30 Aug 80 GF]

CREDIT FOR SHUSH--At a meeting held in Shush yesterday and attended by the commissioner of the Khuzestan Construction Department, the Shush mayor and a municipality expert, it was agreed that 30 million rials from the revenue of 1 day's oil sales will be granted to Shush for road maintenance and paving. [GF301546 Ahvaz Domestic Service in Persian 1230 GMT 30 Aug 80 GF]

CREDIT FOR FOOD DAMS--The Public Relations Office of the Khuzestan Governorate General announces that it has decided to grant 500 million rials to various governorate departments to build dams. Maximum use should be made of water for agricultural purposes. [GF301546 Ahvaz Domestic Service in Persian 1230 GMT 30 Aug 80 GF]

KAZERUN GOVERNOR APPOINTED--(Esma'il Khabiry Khatiri) has been appointed governor of Kazerun. [GF311749 Shiraz Domestic Service in Persian 1400 GMT 31 Aug 80 GF]

FARS DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS--Agreement on the following development projects has been reached with contractors: A 1,903,500-rial contract for building a wall around the Arsenjan Stadium; a 23.43 million-rial contract for surfacing roads in Neyriz and Estahban; a 12.9 million-rial

contract for digging channels in the Neyriz area; a 70.539 million-rial contract to build a wrestling stadium in Kherameh; 15,915 million-rials for building an abattoir in Jahrum; and, 4 million rials for a sewage system in the Gerash Abattoir. [GF311749 Shiraz Domestic Service in Persian 1400 GMT 31 Aug 80 GF]

CREDIT FOR KHORRAMSHAHR--The sum of 80 million rials from the emergency account of the Khuzestan governorate has been granted to Khorramshahr District to build housing compounds for slumdwellers. [GF311749 Ahvaz Domestic Service in Persian 1230 GMT 31 Aug 80 GF]

LARISTAN GOVERNOR APPOINTED--The governor general of Fars has appointed Daryush Hoseyni governor of Laristan. [GF241830 Shiraz Domestic Service in Persian 1400 GMT 24 Aug 80 GF]

PERSEPOLIS HOSPITALS--The Iran Air director in Shiraz has announced that two hotels in Persepolis will be turned into hospitals. The hotels cost 4 billion rials and were built during the previous regime. The decision was made by the Revolution Council [GF261602 Shiraz Domestic Service in Persian 1400 GMT 26 Aug 80 GF]

KHUZESTAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS--The Khuzestan Development Organization has agreed in principal to build four industrial units in Ahvaz, Mahshahr, Dezful and Andimeshk to produce pipes, flexible electrical cables, an automatic bakery, plastics and mosaic tiles. They will produce annually 1,212 tons of pipes, bread and plastic; 90,000 square meters of mosaic tiles; and 600,000 concrete blocks. The total cost of these projects is 9,379,300 rials. [GF261150 Ahvaz Domestic Service in Persian 1230 GMT 25 Aug 80 GF]

PURGING COMMITTEE FORMED--The managing director of the Iran Drilling Company has announced the formation of a purging committee in the company following repeated requests by the employees. The committee consists of five company employees. [GF271548 Ahvaz Domestic Service in Persian 1230 GMT 27 Aug 80 GF]

ANIMAL FODDER EXPORTS BANNED--The Khuzestan Agricultural Department has announced a ban on animal fodder exports due to domestic needs. The items include barley, hay and alfalfa. Southern port officials have been asked to enforce the ban. [GF271548 Ahvaz Domestic Service in Persian 1230 GMT 27 Aug 80 GF]

ISLAMIC SOCIETY FORMATION--The village of (Serou), Yasuj District, has formed an Islamic Society. It began working this week. [GF271548 Shiraz Domestic Service in Persian 1400 GMT 27 Aug 80 GF]

CUSTOMS CHIEF ARRESTED, RELEASED--Police at Mehrabad international airport said that the airport's customs officials went on strike following their chief's arrest for a short period as a result of the arrival of mysterious arms consignment. Police said that the Revolution Guards arrested the customs chief, Hamid Reza Reza'i, when he refused to hand over the arms to them and asked them to report to the Ministry of Defense. Reports say that Reza'i has been released. [Text] [Text] [Abadan NIOC Radio in Arabic 0830 GMT 2 Sep 80]

CSO: 4902

SECURITY PROBLEMS SEEN AS THREAT TO GULF

Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English 11 Aug 80 pp 11, 12

[Text]

Kuwaiti authorities are taking vigorous action to counter potential trouble-makers following a number of acts of violence. To date, the level of tension cannot be compared in any way with that experienced daily by Beirutis - and Kuwait's rulers are clearly determined to scotch in the egg any movement towards a "Lebanisation" of their country. And, as a special correspondent reports below, Kuwait's problems over its security are a matter of serious concern in other Arab Gulf states.

With Iranians and Palestinians making up a substantial proportion of Kuwait's large foreign population, the principal fear of the Kuwaiti government is that the country will become a focal point for the two main sources of conflagration in the Middle East: the overspill of the Islamic revolution in Iran together with Tehran's quarrels with Baghdad and the Arab-Israeli conflict and its inter-Arab ramifications. "Kuwait is threatened," Crown Prince Sheikh Saad al-Abdullah al-Sabah warned in a televised speech last month. Since then, the government has carried out a purge of its security forces, pensioning off 38 senior officers. Last week, Interior Minister Nayef al-Ahmed al-Sabah conferred with leading Palestinians resident in Kuwait, headed by Fatah's local representative, Abu Kazem. Mr. Kazem said after the meeting that, like the Kuwaitis, the Palestinians wanted to see security and tranquillity prevail in the country.

One of the most serious acts of violence was the bombing last month of the printing presses of the daily *Al Rai al Jum* in which two persons were killed and 18 injured. According to the Kuwaiti press, police are holding three suspects. There was also a power cut, which blacked out the country for three days. This may well have been caused by sabotage although the official explanation was that it was due to technical

problems. Finally, there was the hijacking of a Kuwaiti airliner only 48 hours after Sheikh Saad's speech (although this seizure later turned out to be non political). Earlier, there was an attempt on the life of Iranian Foreign Minister Sadegh Ghotbadeh and there were bombs at the Iranian embassy and airline offices. Sheikh Saad also stated that arms and subversive leaflets were being smuggled into Kuwait but he did not give any details.

Our special correspondent writes:

There is growing concern in neighbouring Arab countries over the situation in Kuwait and this is reflected in the visit to Saudi Arabia by Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. The primary purpose of the Iraqi leader's journey to Taif was not to discuss oil: Iraq and Saudi Arabia agree more than they disagree on the issues of oil prices and production volumes. But both countries are worried about the explosive potential of a possible deterioration of security in Kuwait. As a result, both countries are likely to undertake a joint initiative to support the Kuwaiti authorities.

Because of long-standing differences with Iraq, Kuwait might not feel at ease if the assurances of support came from Baghdad alone even though the Iraqi leadership has made friendly overtures and has opened the door for Kuwaiti contractors and traders in Iraq. The Iraqis therefore feel that a joint approach with Saudi Arabia would be the best way to win cooperation from the Kuwaitis.

In the meantime, in addition to purging its security forces and tightening controls on arriving foreigners, the Kuwaiti government has taken the time-honoured step of injecting more money into the economy. But while this has been happening, Kuwaiti nationals have been continuing to invest money outside the country to such an extent that there has been some speculation about a deterioration of the value of the Kuwaiti dinar in foreign exchanges.

It is true that there has been no open fighting in Kuwait, but it is no less true that Kuwait is the most vulnerable of all Gulf countries to troubles fomented by experts in sabotage and political agitation.

CAUSES OF CLASHES BETWEEN AMAL, NATIONAL MOVEMENT ANALYZED

Paris AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI in Arabic 9-15 Jun 80 pp 10-11

[Article by 'Abd-al-Hadi Mahfuz: "Southern Suburb Clashes; Barri: Shiites Feel Persecuted by Those They Consider Allies"]

[Text] The statements issued by the Palestinian resistance, Amal Movement and the National Movement do not provide a complete answer explaining the recurrent clashes among parties that consider themselves as belonging to the same house. All these statements underline the need to confront the "common enemy." What is meant by the common enemy is Israel. Despite this, clashes take place and erupt in a bloody manner that drops all rational explanations.

What is happening in the southern suburb of Beirut--something whose reverberations and impact extend to the villages in the deep south--cannot be explained by one reason or a number of reasons. It is tied fundamentally to the state of ambiguity and confusion dominating the political programs of the various parties. There is no consensus here on the possibilities of the occurrence or non-occurrence of resettlement and there is no consensus on how to solve the contradictions emanating from fear because many things do coexist but are liable to explode. Why? Nobody can deny that the sectarian issue is the most prominent phenomenon resulting from a war that started without any view of a solution that would establish a possible political balance. Though the war assumed a certain color in its first two years, it is now taking a new form under the shadow of the long periods of rest resulting from ceaseless truces. This is the form of the sectarian identity. Under this form, the political contradictions founded on a class basis diminish. This explains the phenomenon of general fear among the Shiite sect in its entirety from an unclear future governed by international fates. It is truly here that the crux of the problem lies. Under the domination of the slogans (turuhat) of the "sectarian mini-states," the Shiite sect seems to be the only sect without a "state." There is talk about resettlement plans in the south countered by talk of Israeli plans to devour the south. There is also an almost daily shelling of the villages in the deep south and it seems that the only purpose of this shelling is to evict the southerners and to push them toward the unknown.

This is insofar as the south is concerned. As for the new belts of misery in al-Shiyah, al-Awza'i and Burj al-Barahinah which have received the evacuees from the south and from al-Nab'ah, they present a picture of the "Shiite future" dominated by gray. These belts are not likely to become the Shiite sect's "mini-state." What is more, there is talk about plans to evict the Shiite from these belts and resettle them in al-Biq'a'. All this is implanted as fears and apprehensions in the "Shiite subconscious."

In the absence of the elements unifying the Lebanese society which is beginning to disintegrate, the "sect" assumes the form of a guarantee for the missing security. This is due to the fact that the state is almost nonexistent as a political and social establishment. Therefore, there has to be another establishment to provide the sect with reassurance. This reality is what is pushing gradually toward the growth and enhancement of conformity between Amal and the Shiite sect. In fact, the more military and political blows are dealt to Amal, the more strongly the Shiite sect unites behind Amal, despite the objection of many [Shiites] to its projections and, at times, its ideological line. Here, a comparison can be made with the position of the Phalanges toward the Marunite sect when the National Movement adopted the resolution "to isolate the Phalanges." The slogan of isolation contributed relatively to the Marunite sect's cohesion with the "isolated" party.

What Will End "Plot?"

This prelude is necessary to make some matters clear. In this sense, it is tantamount to a testimony to a reality under which we live and to which we often object, but a reality that strikes deeper roots day after day. The Lebanese National Movement stresses that it considers the Shiite masses national masses and yet clashes occur. Moreover, the Palestinian resistance and Amal Movement proceed from the premise of "The unity of those evicted from the land and those evicted on their land" and yet clashes do occur at times.

Even though all stress "the slogan of unity," the circle of doubt is growing among all. Here lies the problem because the fact is that the fears and apprehensions have become mutual. The clashes intensify these fears and apprehensions in the absence of a real dialogue that underlines the common denominators on all issues.

Because dialogue is the possible means now that the ferocious "wave of violence" has been overcome, AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI has interviewed Lawyer Nabih Barri, the Amal Movement secretary general, and Dr 'Abdallah Sa'adah, the chairman of the Syrian Social National Party and one of the leaders of the National Movement.

Following is a part of the interview:

Nabih Barri says that understanding the causes that lead to the clashes is what "will put an end to the plot." What are these causes?

First: "There is a Shiite fear of resettlement. If the resettlement is a test balloon on the part of Israel, then it behooves all to deal with this issue, even if it is an illusion, because the Shiite masses live in a state of fear for the south and for their future."

Second: "The Joint Command statement which has enumerated the clashes between Amal on the one hand and the National Movement and the Palestinian resistance on the other has tried to give the impression that Amal alone is the one that commits mistakes. The question is: Why has this statement been issued and why was it issued just before and in company with the clashes? Moreover, what would happen if they enumerate the mistakes they have committed against us? Furthermore, why don't they enumerate the many clashes that have taken place and are taking place among them? And what about the clashes between some parties of the National Movement and the Palestinian resistance?"

Third: "There is a lot of talk at present about Amal being the 'Shiite Phalanges.' We want testimony from nobody and it is enough for them to look around to see the thousands of requests made daily to join Amal Movement. Instead of exerting efforts to win these thousands, they antagonize them. I confess to them that the Shiite masses are turning to Amal. This is natural. But if they read and examine Amal's charter carefully, they would find that this movement addresses all people from all sects. We will undoubtedly exert efforts to broaden Amal's base outside the Shiite sect. I will also stress that Amal includes non-Shiite leaderships. The near future will reveal a lot, especially when we complete our organizational work from which we have been diverted by the concerns of these fabricated clashes."

Fourth: "What about the shelling of the Shiite villages in the south and the fall of hundreds of missiles on these villages? Isn't all this enough cause for creating among the Shiites at least the feeling that they are being persecuted by those who are supposed to be allies? And what about the events that have befallen the southern villages? Aren't some parties of the National Movement, whose faulty actions have dragged some people in the Palestinian resistance to take part in the mistakes, responsible for these events?"

Grip of Custodianship

Fifth: "Some parties of the National Movement think that they are the custodians of the national action. In view of the growing political and military capabilities of Amal Movement, these parties find themselves in a difficult position. This is why they believe that as soon as Amal enters the Political Council it will fall under the grip of these parties. But we in Amal Movement call for a new formula linked to the new developments in the political situation and responding to the needs of this situation,

i.e. a formula that reflects the real balance among all concerned. It is a formula based on the participation of four sides and in which the National Movement is represented by one, Amal Movement by one, the National Front by one and the Palestinian resistance by one. Moreover, I wonder where is the charter that governs the relations among the various sides in the Political Council so that we may study and evaluate it? We will then decide what is required in the light of this charter and in the light of the needs of the political phase."

Sixth: "The 'distinct character' of Amal annoys many people. Amal is capable of moving in more than one direction and this is due to its independent course and line. On this basis, Amal has opened up to the Socialist Progressive Party and to al-Murabitun and this is why good relations bind us to Walid Unblatt and Ibrahim Qulaylat. This is, in our opinion, the real inlet for reaching a formula that acts to save Lebanon and to enable the basic parties concerned with ending the crisis to make the right decision. This approach does not please some people in the National Movement. It is no coincidence that the recent clashes took place during the period in which Amal initiated its contacts with the aforementioned parties [Junblatt and Qulaylat], keeping in mind that relations of strong friendship bind us to the Syrian Social National Party which has not taken part in the clashes and which is playing the role of a positive mediator."

Seventh: "What is Amal's crime if large groups have begun to abandon their political organizations and join Amal? This desertion undoubtedly affects the role to which these organizations aspire in the 'political detente' and in the subsequent political positions, considering that these organizations, by virtue of their Shiite base, can be represented at the Shiite level. However, the current political reality makes the Shiites generally look for actual guarantees that go beyond the limits of political bargaining to what is further--to protecting the homeland against fragmentation and preventing the loss of the south."

Eighth: "Amal's determination to return to the south, regardless of how big the sacrifices and to confront the Israeli enemy and its schemes gives action [sic] alone the right to evaluate the political forces and the degree of their popular and Shiite representation. In going to the south, we want to stress to the masses what the reply to the eviction is and how the steadfastness of the southerners can overcome the slogans raised haphazardly everywhere. Some people want to cast doubt on our intentions toward the south. These people live on casting doubts."

Ninth: "I believe that the entry of the Deterrence Forces to Burj al-Barajinah and the southern area has foiled a plot no less serious in its dimensions than the plot foiled when the Syrian forces intervened to put an end to the fighting between the combatants in the two-year war."

Look for the Old

What does Dr 'Aadallah Sa'adah say in explaining the clashes and their causes? We present here his view in his capacity as one of the National

Movement's prominent leaders. He says: "I believe that the look at the painful recent incidents must take its historical dimension and must be evaluated through it.

"There is no doubt that the Lebanese regime in its old format--a format of which some people boast--took the form of a sectarian alliance or a sectarian federacy. This format carried within its folds the seeds of its downfall and explosion by virtue of its contradiction with the true democratic spirit and by virtue of the demographic changes taking place on the Lebanese arena.

"On the basis of this format, the Shiite sect was represented by its feudal leaderships that were only concerned with maintaining control of the members of the Shiite sect by closing the doors in the face of their social, economic and scientific progress. The Shiite areas were distinguished by being the most underprivileged and backward areas under the canopy of the so-called Lebanese prosperity. None of us is ignorant of the fact that the members of the Shiite sect were forced by their economic conditions to abandon their villages in the south and al-Biq'a' and come live in the outskirts of the capital under social conditions where the means of health and of social enhancement were absent. This is what made everybody talk about the belt of misery surrounding Beirut from al-Awza'i to al-Karantina and made the owners of palaces and tall buildings live in the fear that this belt of misery would reach their buildings and palaces.

"It is worth noting here that the members of the Shiite sect generally were most open to the national and progressive parties and that they joined their ranks in the largest numbers. As for the citizens of the south, they were the frontline group facing the Zionist enemy's sudden and recurrent attacks since the late 1960's. Those attacks and the damage they caused did not prevent the southern citizens, most of whom are Shiites, from rallying behind the Palestinian resistance and joining its struggle with a national and pan-Arab enthusiasm and with sacrifices that have been praised by all. Moreover, the percentage of the Shiites among the martyrs of the National Movement that fought in the Lebanese events against the Zionist and imperialist plot topped the percentages of all others.

Shuttle Evacuations

"This background assures us that the Shiite sect has always taken an advance position in defending the Palestinian cause and in supplying the national, pan-Arab and progressive parties with important national and struggle elements. The Zionist enemy is aware of this fact and takes this awareness into calculation in its schemes to intensify the aggressions against the Shiite villages in the south and to destroy their public and private installations, in addition to destroying their homes and farms. This has forced many of the Shiites to abandon their villages and come to the belt of misery.

"We should remember that the members of the Shiite sect who were living in northern al-Matn coastal area and in the areas of Barj Hammud and al-Nab'ah were evicted from those areas before others by the militias of the Lebanese Front and that they proceeded before others to live in the southern al-Matn coastal area. With the influx of the southern evacuees, the southern coastal area is now overcrowded with its population which ranges from 500,000-750,000 people deprived of all the means of health and social care and the means to earn and secure a living.

"Despite the enormous hardships to which they have been subjected as a result of the shuttle evacuations and despite the deprivation under which they live, the basic positions of the Shiites have not changed. The Shiites, both base and leadership, still cling to the national and pan-Arab struggle values, foremost of which is the value of defending the Palestinian revolution and its just cause. But this should not cause us to drop from our calculations the impact of the rumors propagated by the suspect circles regarding the issue of resettlement [of the Palestinians] in the south and the subsequent loss of land, home and emotional and psychological attachment that such resettlement means. Moreover, the extremely miserable social conditions, the lack of concern on the part of the state to secure the means of a minimal decent living, the failure of the Lebanese National Movement and the Palestinian resistance to deal with this issue and the Arab brothers' shameful disregard for the Lebanese tragedy whose main tax is paid by the sons of the Shiite sect--all these factors expose the Shiites to the manipulation of the hands that have suspect domestic and external goals.

Rejected Equation

"The approach to deal with this situation should not, in our opinion, be governed by the simple equation of action and reaction or by the logic of justifiable fighting. The approach should be governed by objective considerations on the part of Amal primarily and then on the part of all the national, progressive and pan-Arab factions which must exert their utmost efforts to prevent a widening of the gap and to obstruct manipulation by the many suspect fingers. This also requires the Arab Deterrence Forces, in their capacity as the legitimate security forces in the area, to take a firm and deterrent stance toward all those who touch off the security situation in the area, even if an injustice is done some individuals, because it is much better for us to have an injustice fall on some individuals than to have the national and pan-Arab cause done an injustice.

"There is no doubt that all the Palestinian resistance organizations are aware of the serious situation and of its dangers to all of us and to our common cause. These organizations are expected to contribute to the solution and they can perform a vanguard role in achieving it.

"To sum up, I want to assert that we should not allow ourselves to slip into the simple equation of reacting to any provocation or mistake. We must deal with the dimensions of the issue profoundly and with a national and

pan-Arab vision that understands the pains and deprivation of the evacuated Shiites and a vision that puts them in our hearts if we cannot put them in our homes. They deserve this care from us without any obligation because they have paid its price in blood, martyrs, destruction and eviction. We are all equally concerned with the Shiites. Sentiments alone are no longer enough. All our Shiite, National Movement, Palestinian resistance and Deterrence Force leaderships must proceed to hold the Arab states responsible for their duty to participate with and (alleviate) the tragedy of the evicted and the deprived."

This is part of the interview with Nabih Barri and 'Abdallah Sa'adah. The question that remains is: Will the bloodshed, the mutual fear and the suppressed apprehensions come to an end?

8494

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OBSTACLES FACING DISPENSATION OF JUSTICE DISCUSSED

Paris AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI in Arabic 2-8 Jun 80 p 10

[Article by May Kahhalah: "Justice Is in Fear; Numbers of Lawsuits Know no Fear but Implementation Is Limited to 'Domains of Mini-States'"]

[Text] Justice in Lebanon is in fear. The general director of justice does not deny the state of fear, but he does narrow it down. It is, in his opinion, individualistic. Does this mean that justice is well? Of course not. It is in fear and it is well [sic]. With fear, justice is incomplete.

Is justice in Lebanon in fear?

Yes and no. Like everything in Lebanon, justice is threatened with assassination, murder, blackmail and mutilation. But despite this, it is trying to go on and is thrashing in a serious attempt to overcome the stagnation, especially its failure in the test of strength.

While talking about justice in Lebanon after 1975, we must wonder if justice is still the basis of rule and if it is still the natural extension of the striking arm of a government capable of imposing its respect and of punishing criminals.

The fact is that the war has changed a lot of facts. The state is no longer the sole agency in control of government because numerous other illegal agencies have sprung up around it and have given themselves the right to arrest those who threaten their security, to try and jail them and even execute them. When these agencies wish, they hand over the criminal to the justice of the legitimate state or hold him back from it.

Moreover, the Lebanese war has created new realities which require legislation to eliminate their existence above or side by side with justice. The most outstanding product of the February 1978 incidents has been the Security Investigation Authority which has emanated from the Special Court that had been formed in the wake of bloody incidents between the Lebanese Army and the Arab Deterrence Force. The presence of armies from various nationalities on the Lebanese territories made it a must to organize the relations between them.

But the existing image of justice is its inability in most cases to punish a sniper, a smuggler, a car or a boat thief because they find protection from those who are stronger than them.

This reality will not change unless the government regains its weapon, which is embodied in having all others cast aside their weapons. Many have been afraid of even suing an armed foe out of fear for their life or the lives of their kinsmen. This fear has extended to those connected with justice directly or indirectly, such as court clerks who are supposed to notify the citizens of trial dates or court sentences, medical examiners and experienced witnesses whose testimony in a case and their performance of their duty in such a case may cost them their lives.

Don't forget that the Lebanese state has not yet established itself in all parts of Lebanon, a fact which makes it unable to exercise its control over more than one third the country.

In a recent report, the security forces point out that the Lebanese prisons in operation contained 668 prisoners by the end of April [no year], including 167 convicts and 105 detainees.

Individual Fear!

We again ask: Is justice in fear?

"Not more than the press or any other sector in Lebanon," says Dr Hassan Rif'at, the general director of the Ministry of Justice. While supporting his statement with figures "because they are the irrefutable material proof," Dr Rif'at Hassan says: "I have reservations on the word 'fear.' The judiciary facility has preserved its unity and the judges have preserved their awareness of their message. As for fear, it may exist at the individual level but it does not undermine the entire establishment. If I am in fear of a sniper or of a falling rocket but do not let this fear prevent me from coming to my work daily, then this means that the fear is there but it doesn't paralyze me."

Dr Rif'at believes in the need to introduce slight amendments to the laws "in order to correct the organizational conditions and to stiffen some penalties."

To underline the work performed by the justice establishment, Dr Rif'at has cited these figures: By the middle of May 1980, the Permanent Military Court issued 176 sentences and the Separate Military Court issued 102 sentences. The emergency cases chamber of the Beirut Appellate Court tried 15 cases and the court's personal status affairs chamber tried five cases this May. In the Criminal Court, which has been examining 156 murder cases dating back to the pre-war period and extending to May [1980], sentences have been issued on 42 cases. The Beirut Appellate Court has issued its sentences on 63 cases out of a total of 268 cases since the start of this

year. Since the beginning of 1980, the Appellate Public Prosecutor's Office in B'abda has received 200 personal [nufus] lawsuits, 622 complaints, 140 arrest notifications and 200 notifications for in-absentia arrests. The Beirut Misdemeanors Appeals Court has issued its sentences on 27 out of a total of 40 cases, the Second Chamber has issued its decisions on 6 out of 13 cases, the Criminal Court has settled 16 out of 60 cases and the Executory Court has issued sentences for 132 (precautionary custody) orders and 200 executory custody orders.

Dr Rif'at adds: In April 1980, the First Chamber of the State Consultative Council issued 10 sentences, the Second Chamber issued 46 sentences, the Fourth Chamber issued five sentences and the Fifth Chamber issued 59 sentences. The government commissioner issued seven sentences and the assistant commissioner issued 69 sentences. The First Chamber of the Court of Cassation formed in February 1980 issued seven sentences, the Second Chamber issued two sentences, the Fourth Chamber issued 10 sentences, the Fifth Chamber issued eight sentences and the Sixth issued 14 sentences.

Justice in South

Even the courts in the south are trying to force the laws. From the beginning of April 1980 to 15 May 1980, the Civil Appeals Court issued nine sentences, the Felonies and Misdemeanors Court issued seven sentences, the Expert Court issued two sentences, the Legal Proceedings Court issued 18 sentences, the General Court of First Instance issued 107 sentences, the Marj'uyun-Hasbayya Court issued 43 sentences, the Tyre-Juya Court issued 45 sentences, al-Nabatiyah Court issued 84 sentences, the Bint Jubayl-Tibnin Court issued 25 sentences and the Jazzin Court issued 15 sentences.

Dr Rif'at has also pointed out that the events have delayed decisions on housing lawsuits in the wake of the memorandum which the minister of justice issued to the judges at the beginning of 1978 urging them to "proceed deliberately in issuing sentences on these lawsuits." The war has created a unique and extremely serious housing situation because the successive waves of evacuation depopulated entire quarters and villages and the original population has been replaced by other evacuees from other quarters and villages. Under the deteriorating security conditions, care must be taken in making any decision to evict the residents of any house or to impose a rent on them until a minimum degree of social security is realized and until every citizen is able to return home.

When we faced Dr Rif'at with certain cases which judges have declined to try, he said: "Such cases are an exemption and do not exceed their usual number under ordinary circumstances. Not every case of a judge stepping aside is the result of fear. The law has permitted a judge to step aside, even before the events. The Military Court of Cassation or the Appellate Court can turn down or accept the request for stepping aside."

As for some people concerned who avoid involvement in certain cases, Dr Rif'at said: "Judiciary work requires the assistance of experts and witnesses. If some are afraid, they can withdraw. But the justice establishment is not afraid and the judges are performing their duties in all the judiciary facilities, including the central administration, the Judges Institute and the courts in all the governorates. They are issuing sentences and referring them to the Execution Department to carry them out."

In execution, we reach the missing link in the chain of justice. We asked Dr Rif'at: "Are the sentences carried out at present and who carries them out?" He said: "A civil sentence is carried out at the request of the beneficiary, i.e. the person who wins the lawsuit. He asks the execution officer to take steps to convey the sentence and to do what the court has ordered. If the person against whom the sentence is issued refuses to receive the executory notification and to do what is ordered, the execution officer seeks the help of the mukhtar of a quarter or of a volunteer to accompany him to the home of the sentenced. If the latter resorts to violence, the presence of the security forces must be requested."

Incomplete Cycle

What about penal cases?

Camille Ja'ja', the Public (Court of Cassation) prosecutor, has asserted: "The execution of these sentences is done by the security forces." He has also asserted that "numerous judges have received threats from anonymous people. Despite this, they are performing their duty and issuing sentences. If a judge finds that ill consequences will result to him from deciding on a case, he may submit a report and request transfer of the case to another location." Ja'ja' has also admitted that "the delivery of notifications on the [dates of] sessions is faced with numerous obstacles, the most important being that persons sued refuse to receive them. However, a judge can issue his sentence in absentia."

Thus, the responsibility of executing sentences falls on the shoulders of the security forces. But the fact is that these forces are practically unable to carry out this difficult task because many parties carry weapons that are more efficient and potent than those of the security forces. Consequently, they prevent the security forces from approaching the borders of their "kingdoms."

Consequently, justice runs its course only to be stopped at the point of implementation. So what is the use of a sentence if it continues to be mere ink on paper? Justice is not the most scared party in Lebanon, this is true. But what is feared is that justice will turn into a bunch of rigid laws and rules that are not implemented. The wheel again turns to stop at the regime's doorstep (until such time when the regime can restore power to its rightful owners and justice to the two scales of the balance).

8494

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REPORT DISCUSSES STEPS TAKEN TO DEVELOP AGRICULTURE

Beirut AL-ANWAR in Arabic 19 Jun 80 p 6

[Article: "Report to Council of Ministers on Developing and Rebuilding Agricultural Sector"]

[Text] Joseph Skaff, the minister of agriculture, has presented to the weekly session of the Council of Ministers a report on the progress of the study concerning rebuilding and developing the agricultural sector and proposing a strategy for medium and long-range agricultural development, in addition to reorganizing the Ministry of Agriculture and the agricultural establishments under its control.

First, Project Implementation and Method of Work:

Implementation was started in three stages on 20 January 1980:

First stage: Preparations for each working team took 3 weeks.

Second stage: Completion of the work [study] by the team of experts took 4 months.

Third stage: Results and recommendations took 7 weeks.

The following method of work was adopted for the experts:

Cooperation by the experts within their teams.

Reliance on the available technical reports.

On-the-spot visits and various contacts with the farmers and the officials.

Works Completed by middle of May 1980:

The agencies of the Ministry of Agriculture were revitalized and a bill was prepared to reorganize them.

A plan was drawn up to rehabilitate the technical apparatus of the Ministry of Agriculture and of its establishments (a total of 50 [study] grants for periods ranging from 2-9 months given).

A plan was drawn up to train agricultural engineers and veterinary doctors (14 long-term study grants for periods of 2-3 years given).

A plan was drawn up for a livestock census (goats, sheep and other livestock).

A plan was drawn up to set up an applied scientific research and guidance center in the sphere of plastic [green] houses for the production of vegetables and other crops out of season.

Future Aspirations:

The impressions gathered from the work of the teams--impressions which will be recorded in the final report--have made it possible to form some tendencies, options and priorities, even though the current situation obstructs every effort to formulate any long-range policy, especially in the absence of real official statistics.

1. General Economic Aspirations for Years 1980-2000:

Two options: The first seeks to attain by the end of the year 2000 a fast pace of economic growth amounting to 7.5 percent (4.1 percent in agriculture).

The second option seeks to attain by the end of the year 2000 a normal pace of economic growth amounting to five percent (3.2 percent in agriculture).

2. Aspirations in Agricultural Sphere:

Food security: Focusing on long-term contracts, securing the means to store grains and refraining from casting doubts on the modest production capabilities.

Increasing the productivity per acreage unit and reducing production costs.

Increasing the Lebanese agricultural exports and maintaining their high quality.

Boosting the rural areas, providing them with the means of subsidy and creating work opportunities in the agricultural and other spheres.

Protecting the environment through formulating a firm and clear-cut policy and through implementing it honestly.

A. At Consumption Level: Internal consumption of the agricultural goods produced will develop as follows by the end of the year 2000:

Chicken meat: Threefold.

At the external level, the exportation of agricultural products to the Arab countries will increase by fourfold or fivefold, provided that the good quality of the production and of packaging is maintained and that the means of technological progress are employed.

B. At Production Level:

The production subject to supply and demand (vegetables, fruits, poultry, improved seeds and ornamental plants) will become effective within the framework of the desired agricultural modernization. This production constitutes the cornerstone in the Lebanese agriculture.

Production for which subsidy is secured (wheat, industrial crops, beets and so forth): The survival of cultivated wheat depends on securing irrigation water for it and the cultivation of beets depends on mechanizing the entire process of beets production, beginning with planting and ending with harvesting.

C. Obstacles and Solutions:

Developing land and water: This development must be balanced by securing the necessary labor. There is no value for (expansion) with the aim of getting new resources if we do not preserve the current resources and prevent their loss. Even though there is a possibility to irrigate 40,000 [more] hectares in the south, the priority requires improving and modernizing the present means of irrigation.

Mechanizing agricultural operations: A complete and profound view for solving the problem of agricultural labor, which is becoming scarce, is needed. It is also required to reduce production costs so as to counter the wave of inflation and of competition. All this requires that efforts be exerted to attract labor to this sphere by all the means.

Finding solutions to preserve the quality of the soil by adopting the system of agricultural cycles.

Providing incentives to the farmers by way of the agricultural loans establishments (improved seeds, fertilizers and modern means of irrigation and mechanization).

Developing and strengthening the cooperative movement.

Strengthening agricultural guidance on new bases, both in terms of numbers and of qualifications [of agricultural guides].

Securing various resources for the public sector to enable it to face the various obstacles obstructing the growth of the agricultural sector in a

different manner than in the past and to enable it to keep up pace with progress so as to meet the needs of the Lebanese agriculture.

Establishing a firm bond between the ministries of agriculture, water resources, cooperatives, civil organization and the Social Welfare Agency while keeping the Ministry of Agriculture as the basic apparatus for planning, coordination, supervision and implementation in the rural and agricultural sphere.

Preserving and expanding the cultivated area of 100,000 hectares, employing modern means to utilize it and exerting efforts to prevent construction and the opening of roads in this area because Lebanon has lost in the past 25 years nearly 20,000 hectares of its cultivable lands as a result of expanded construction and opening of roads.

Focusing on expanding and preserving the forested area so that it may constitute 20 percent [of Lebanon's area] in the future.

Reorganizing the utilization of pasture lands in which sheep and goats graze to prevent their disappearance.

Defining the needs of the agricultural areas on the basis of recommendations by specialized regional committees formed at the level of districts.

Encouraging the establishments that support the public sector, such as farmer groups and organizations operating in the rural areas, to enhance the living standard of those who work in these areas.

Supplying the fuels used in the agricultural sector at convenient prices so as to reduce production costs.

Seeking the assistance of agricultural economists (to provide statistics and to study production costs).

Taking the direction of centering the light industries in the rural areas.

Followup Stage: This stage calls for completion of the experts' work, considering that we are still awaiting the arrival of the scientific research and horticultural experts before proceeding to write the final report and underline the results. This requires extending the work in the project for 3 more months, in addition to the already scheduled 6 months.

On the other hand, the followup stage called for by the basic document on the strategy seeks to draw up and plan agricultural projects produced by this strategy, to analyze these projects and determine their economic feasibility. This work will be carried out by two experts from the [U.N.] Food and Agriculture Organization who will work for 2-3 years.

Please be advised, keeping in mind that we will continue to discuss the details of this stage with the Reconstruction and Development Board and to cooperate with it closely.

FRENCH OFFER TO DEVELOP RAILROAD SERVICE APPROVED

Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 21 Jun 80 p 6

[Article: "Council of Ministers Approves French Offer to Develop Sidon-Tripoli Railroad"]

[Text] The Council of Ministers has agreed to the implementation of the first stage of the plan to develop the coastal railroad and to build passenger stations between Sidon, Beirut and Tripoli in the first phase of the project at a cost of 65 million [Lebanese] pounds.

The French government had sent at its own expense in 1977 a team from the (Souvray) Organization to study the plan to develop the coastal railroad as part of the French technical aid to Lebanon.

In its final phase, this project seeks to transport 34,200 passengers daily between Sidon, Beirut and Tripoli and to secure the transportation of goods and liquid fuels on this section of the railroad.

The project sets an execution timetable of 10 years divided over four stages in the following manner:

The first stage ends with the end of the third year after the start of implementation.

The second stage ends at the end of the ninth year of the start of implementation.

The third stage ends at the end of the 10th year after the start of implementation.

The Lebanese State Railroad and Beirut Joint Transportation Authority has studied the [French] project and has drawn up in its light another project that calls for implementation of the first stage and the modified first stage B of the (Souvray) project.

The authority's project calls for running 14 coaches, each with a capacity of 160 passengers, to transport 4,480 passengers daily in the various directions. This operation requires the acquisition of:

Six sets of (locomotives and coach cars).

Renewing and improving the railroad and fitting it with the means of safety.

Building a separate line between the Beirut station, Mar Mikhayil and al-Dawrah.

It is evident from this report that:

Passenger trains will travel the 46-kilometer distance between Sidon and Beirut in 55 minutes, the 16-kilometer distance between Beirut and Junyah in 17 minutes and the 83-kilometer distance between Beirut and Tripoli in 106 minutes.

8494

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ESTABLISHMENT OF FREE ZONE FOR INSURANCE COMPANIES PROPOSED

Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 21 Jun 80 p 6

[Article: "Insurance Companies Association Proposes Free Zone"]

[Text] The Insurance Companies Association has prepared a plan for setting up a free zone for the insurance companies with the aim of curtailing the competition between the companies and of revitalizing the services sector by attracting new companies.

Joseph Zakhkhur, the association secretary who prepared the plan, has proposed that foreign companies be permitted to use Lebanon as their headquarters, provided that they are banned from operating inside Lebanon. He has also proposed that these companies be exempted from taxes with the aim of attracting foreign firms.

The plan says: The setting up of a free zone which permits firms to use Lebanon as their headquarters while banning them from operating inside Lebanon is capable of protecting the local market from the dangers of oversaturation without denying capitalists the opportunity to invest their monies in the insurance industry.

It will become possible for the National Insurance Council to use its right to recommend refrainment from licensing new internal companies out of concern for the interest of the industry as a whole.

It will also be then possible for the Ministry of Economy and Commerce to direct applicants for licenses to register themselves as firms engaging in external operations only.

At the national level: Exemption of the companies operating in the free zone from tax fees will help to attract foreign firms and will encourage them to use Lebanon as a base for their Middle East operations.

The benefits reaped from the coming of such companies to Lebanon are secret to nobody and can be summed up in the following: Creating new spheres for the Lebanese services sector within which it can move. Such services

include legal and technical advice (lawyers and accountants), rent money, new jobs and new resident and non-resident bank accounts.

The state treasury has a definite interest in all of this.

Free Zone:

A legislation should be issued by the Chamber of Deputies for setting up a free zone for the Lebanese and foreign insurance companies, the law should determine the conditions and rules for establishing and registering this type of companies and the Ministry of Economy should supervise their operations.

These companies should be banned from undertaking any risks in Lebanon, with the exception of underwriting in which they may engage like any other insurance underwriting firms operating outside Lebanon.

The insurance companies operating in the free zone should benefit from customs and tax exemptions given by the commercial and banking free zones existing currently in Lebanon.

The employees of these firms should be subject to the income tax law.

The companies operating in the free zone should be subject to the control of the Insurance Organizations Affairs Authority.

The free zone companies should operate in accordance with a license valid for only one year and renewable annually in return for a control fee paid to the Lebanese treasury.

The minister of economy may refuse to renew the license of a company if it violates the free zone law or fails to abide by its provisions.

A company operating in the free zone should be required to be a joint-stock company established in Lebanon or in its country of origin in accordance with the commercial law, provided that its capital is no less than one million Lebanese pounds.

A foreign firm operating in the free zone should have a Lebanese legal representative and a Lebanese accountant.

8494

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DEFENSE MINISTRY'S GENERAL MANAGEMENT DEPARTMENT REORGANIZED

Beirut AL-NAHAR in Arabic 20 Jun 80 p 4

[Article: "Personnel, Work Rules, Powers and Duties of Officials of the Ministry of Defense's General Management Department Defined"]

[Text] Decree No 3319 has been issued to define the personnel [milak] of the Ministry of Defense's General Management Department, the requirements of appointment to this department, its work rules and the powers and duties of the department's officials.

Here is the text of the decree:

"Article one: The personnel of the Ministry of Defense's General Management Department shall be defined in accordance with the table attached to this decree.

"Article two: Powers of Department's General Director:

"The department's general director is, within the framework of the laws and the regulations, the immediate head of all the units and military and civilian employees under his control. In addition to the powers of the head of a major agency, he shall also have the powers exercised by the general director of a general department. In particular, he shall be in charge of:

"The managerial training, education and qualification of all the elements of his department.

"Preparing the special specification lists and the ammunition, material, requirements and works files in accordance with the specifications set according to the rules. When necessary, he may demand reconsideration of the specifications to make them competitive for the bidders.

"Granting permits for participation in the army transactions after consultation with the army command.

"Acquiring the various requirements and services needed by the army in accordance with article 41 of the defense law--requirements and services that are determined by the agencies concerned in accordance with the rules. He is especially entrusted with taking the measures and the steps concerning leases, confiscation, appropriation, insurance, guarantees, employment contracts and other activities.

"Proposing the names of the chairmen and members of the bid-awarding and receipt committees and the heads and members of purchasing committees [concluding transactions] abroad with the approval of the main agency concerned.

"Determining the priorities of acquisition in accordance with the request of the heads of the major agencies concerned and organizing the process of receiving and delivering requirements and services.

"Preparing the draft budget of the Ministry of Defense and the special draft budgets in accordance with the proposals of the heads of the major agencies.

"Preparing the draft budget of the General Management Department.

"Supervising the expenditure of the appropriations in the budget and auditing and liquidating the expenditures.

"Preparing bills for the granting of loans and supervising the management and liquidation of loans.

"Supervising the liquidators in the General Management Department and applying the rules of liquidation.

"Proposing the methods of work concerning the financial transactions and their procedures.

"Supervising the use of the funds belonging to army organizations, such as clubs, swimming facilities, the soldier's homes and so forth.

"Managing the subsidiary agencies.

"Article three: Tasks of the Units of the General Management Department:

"1. The Secretariat: In particular, the secretariat shall be in charge of:

"Receiving incoming correspondence and formal papers and channelling them correctly in accordance with the instructions of the general director.

"Preparing the correspondence and decisions of the general director.

"Preparing the instructions on the preparation and implementation of contracts and on following up their various phases.

"Managing the personnel of the General Department, taking charge of their training and of securing their salaries and their food and organizing the services and the guard.

"2. The Tasks of Each of the Other Agencies, Excluding the Financial Agency:

"These agencies shall take care of acquiring the needs and services necessary for the major and other agencies of the Ministry of National Defense, the ministry's Management Department and the other official departments in accordance with the laws in force. Toward this end, these agencies shall undertake the following:

"Acquire the information and facts necessary for the preparation of contracts.

"Prepare draft contracts and specification lists for the materials and services needed. As for the immediate needs and services that can be acquired according to a bill [of sale] in accordance with the general accounting law, they can be acquired directly by the agencies concerned, provided that these needs are determined by a decision from the minister of national defense.

"Take all the legal, administrative and organizational measures for awarding bids after approval of the lists of specifications concerning these bids by the authorities concerned or by concluding these bids directly (on trust).

"Request the appointment of bid-awarding and receipt committees and put the necessary documents and means at the disposal of these committees to carry out their functions.

"Receive materials on trust, prepare them for delivery to the committees concerned and perform the customs formalities necessary.

"Prepare receipt statements in accordance with the decision of the receipt committees and notify the contractors concerned.

"Keep an account of the materials delivered to the temporary warehouses prior to their delivery to the agency concerned.

"Prepare the formalities concerning the sale of properties belonging to the Ministry of National Defense and manage such properties in accordance with the provisions of the law.

"Keep an account of the equipment and materials belonging to the General Management Department.

"Notify the department's general director of the difficulties facing or emanating from the conclusion of a deal and propose the legal solutions to refer these difficulties to the appropriate authority in the Ministry of Defense.

"Submit appropriate proposals for improving the productivity of the work entrusted to these agencies.

"3. Tasks of Financial Agency:

"This agency shall take charge of preparing the draft budgets of the Ministry of National Defense in accordance with the proposals of the agencies and departments concerned and shall insure reservation of the necessary appropriation and liquidation of the expenditures. To achieve this end, the agency shall perform the following:

"Prepare the draft budget in accordance with the laws and rules determined by the Ministry of Finance and submit this draft budget to the authorities concerned within the set legal period.

"Distribute and publish the budgets after they are approved.

"Keep an account of the appropriations and make preparations for reserving them.

"Prepare bills for loans in accordance with the requests of the departments concerned.

"Liquidate all expenditures and repay loans.

"Supervise the use of the funds belonging to the agencies of the army organization in accordance with the instructions of the department's general director.

"Article four: Appointments:

"The military personnel of the General Management Department shall be appointed from among the army elements who meet the conditions set by the table attached to this decree in accordance with the provisions of paragraph C of part A of article 39 and paragraph 5 B of article 61 of the national defense law.

"The civilian personnel shall be appointed on the recommendation of the department's general director and in accordance with the laws in force. Priority shall be given to [retired] military veterans.

"Article five: The Powers and Responsibilities of the Heads of Agencies:

"An agency chairman shall enjoy the administrative and financial powers of the chairman of an agency in the general departments, especially the powers stipulated by the general accounting law.

"An agency chairman shall be responsible for the management of his agency, for carrying out the works entrusted to it and for preserving the confidentiality of the works in accordance with the laws and regulations in force.

"Article six: The military elements needed by the General Management Department shall be released from the army on a decision by the minister of national defense after consultation with the army commander. These elements shall be put under the command of the general director to provide the military services and guard necessary.

"These elements shall be changed once every 2 months at least on a decision by the army commander.

"Article seven: A special section in the budget of the Ministry of National Defense shall be set aside to cover the various expenses of the General Management Department.

"Article eight: This decree shall be published, shall be conveyed to those concerned and shall go into effect immediately upon its publication in the Official Gazette.

Table of General Management Department's Personnel

1. Secretariat

Name/Rank	Commanding Officer and Above	Commanding Officer	Warrant Officer	Sergeant	Private	Civilian
Secretariat		1		4	4	2
Postal Office				3	1	3
Personnel Office		1	1	6	6	4
Coordination Office		1	1	2	3	2
Secretariat Total		3	2	15	14	11

2. Ammunition [War Material] Agency

Agency Chairmanship	1	1		8	4	2
Bid-Awarding Section		1		1	2	2
Air War Mate- rial Section			2	10	5	2

Name/Rank	Commanding Officer and Above	Commanding Officer	Warrant Officer	Sergeant	Private	Civilian
Naval War Material Section			1	8	4	1
Signal War Material Section			1	8	2	1
Vehicles Section			1	6	8	3
Weaponry, Ammuni- tion & Fuels Section		1	10	9	4	
Receipt Section		1		1	2	
Administrative Section				8	2	2
Warehouses Section				8	10	7
War Material Agency Total	1	3	6	68	48	24

[Figures as published]

3. Supply Agency

Agency Chairmanship	1	1		5	4	3
Bid-Awarding Section		1		1	1	1
Requirements Section				13		2
Food Section				4		2
Receipt Section:						
Section Chairmanship			1	1	1	1
Administrative Branch				2		1
Warehouses Branch				2		8

Name/Rank	Commanding Officer and Above	Commanding Officer	Warrant Officer	Sergeant	Private	Civilian
Technical Section:						
Section Chairmanship		1		1	1	2
Chemical Laboratory				2		8
Physics Laboratory				1		6
Furniture Branch				1		4
[Application] Forms Branch				1		1
Supply Agency Total	1	3	1	34	7	39
4. Engineering Agency						
Agency Chairmanship	1	1	1	5	3	7
Studies Section		1	5	6	4	35
Implementation Section		1	7	8	3	25
Secretariat Imple- mentation Section		1	4	20	10	104
Engineering Mate- rial Section		1	1	5	3	12
Engineering Agency Total	1	5	18	44	23	183
5. Geography Agency						
Agency Chairmanship	1	1		2	1	4
Bid-Awarding Section			1			2

Name/Rank	Commanding Officer and Above	Commanding Officer	Warrant Officer	Sergeant	Private	Civilian
Geography Material Section				2	2	5
Topographical Works Section				3	1	5
Receipt Section			1			2
Administrative Branch				2	1	3
Technical Control Branch				3	1	5
Warehouses Branch				1	1	4
Geography Agency Total	1	1	2	13	7	30
6. Health Agency						
Agency Chairmanship	1			2	2	2
Bid-Awarding Section		1		1	1	2
Medicines Section				2	1	4
Medical Supply Section				2	1	4
Receipt Section		1			1	2
Administrative Branch				2		4
Warehouses Branch				2		4
Health Agency Total	1	2		11	6	23

7. Financial Agency

Name/Rank	Commanding Officer and Above	Commanding Officer	Warrant Officer	Sergeant	Private	Civilian
Agency Chairmanship	1	1		2	3	3
Budget Office		1		4	1	3
Expense Deter- mination Office		1	2	15	2	12
Expense Liquida- tion Office		1		8	2	6
Audit & Control Office		1	1	20	3	16
Financial Agency Total	1	5	3	49	11	40
Grand Total of General Manage- ment Department's Personnel	6	22	32	234	116	350

8494

CSO: 4802

COLONEL QADHDHAFI MEETS WITH PEOPLE'S COMMITTEES

Paris BULLETIN QUOTIDIEN DE L'AGENCE JAMAHIRIYA-PRESSE in French 13 Jul 80 pp 2-4

[Article: "Colonel Qadhdhafi Meets with People's Committees and Jado Revolutionary Forces"]

[Text] Tripoli, 29 Shaaban-12 July (JAMAHIRIYA NEWS AGENCY). Meeting with the People's Committees and the Revolutionary Forces, both men and women of Jado, Col Mu'ammār Qadhdhafi reaffirmed that Western colonialism, for many years, emphasized the politics of "divide and rule," and did that so as to sow discord at the heart of the Arab people.

"One of these efforts by colonialism is to say that the Berbers are not Arabs. When colonialism tried to take over North Africa, it called the tribes which were opposed to its invasions and which took refuge in the mountains "Berber tribes."

"These tribes," declared Col Qadhdhafi, "are Arab tribes, which led 'commando raids' against the Roman colonial presence in North Africa and fought that colonialism by burning their farms and harvests, then returning to the mountains, which resulted in that colonialism calling them 'Berbers' (editor's note: also "Barbares") and 'Berberized' so that the name 'Berber' is used to designate those Arab tribes which live in the mountains of North Africa, up to the Djebel Nefoussa in the Atlas Mountains and in the Aures."

"Italian colonialism, especially after the battle of Qurdabiyah in which all Libyans participated and in which the Italians suffered heavy losses, tried to set the tribes, the Arab towns and villages, against each other and that was done in order to divide their ranks in an effort to dominate them," added Col Qadhdhafi.

"The consequences of cultural colonialism must be resisted and eliminated. Colonialism has been used to sustain the lies which it was spreading on that subject, by using writers to implant that idea."

Col Qadhdhafi called for the eradication of these "poisons spread by colonialism" and the "elimination of impurities from our religion," and the "elimination from our minds of all traces of colonialism," and this should be done "to become reborn and become a strong nation."

"The words 'Berber' and 'Berber language' are an affront to these authentic Arab tribes because they are neither Berbers nor barbarians: colonialism alone is barbaric, it is America and the Israelis who are committing barbaric acts and, likewise, it was the Romans in the past, who were committing barbaric acts, by occupying our shores and our lands and by exercising against us all forms of repression and terror."

Col Qadhdhafi emphasized the necessity of revising our history and points out that the tribes who inhabit North Africa are authentically Arab tribes who emigrated from the south of the Arabian peninsula and that the dialect they speak is an old Arab dialect.

"We began to become conscious of our history by refusing to let colonialism look down on us and we are going to give rebirth to our glory," declared Col Qadhdhafi, pointing out that "the tribes which are called Berber are in reality pure and pious Arab tribes, not mixed with any other group and influenced by no one, and which have preserved their Arabness for thousands of years."

Col Qadhdhafi stated that "kabilia," which is well known in North Africa, was the name of Arab tribes which had emigrated thousands of years ago from the south of the Arabian peninsula and, since these tribes were not known by any special name at the time of their emigration and since they settled in the mountains of North Africa, they gave their name to those regions and that is why they are "Qabail" (editor's note: which means in Arabic "tribes" and has given us "Kabile").

"We, as a free people, must orient ourselves toward production, so as to remove the specter of colonialism, free our land and oblige the world to respect us," concluded Col Qadhdhafi.

8956

CSO: 4800

QADHDHAFI LEADS FRIDAY PRAYER IN JADO

Paris BULLETIN QUOTIDIEN DE L'AGENCE JAMAHIRIYA-PRESSE in French 13 Jul 80 pp 4-6

[Article: "The Head of the Revolution Leads Friday Prayer in Jado"]

[Text] Tripoli, 29 Shaaban-12 July (JAMAHIRIYA NEWS AGENCY). "The religious revolution launched by the great revolution of 1 September aims at correcting Islamic practices contrary to dogma," said Col Qadhdhafi yesterday in a speech during prayer in the mosque in Jado.

"The mosque must not be used in the name of religion for personal or sectarian goals. That practice does not come from the nature of the mosque, which is the house of God," he said.

"The mosque is not a place of activity and confusion, where material problems are settled," he said, "because if economic, political and social questions are discussed in it, it would become an administrative office."

Referring to the sects in Islam, Col Qadhdhafi stated that "the Koran is opposed to all the sects which have been created such as the Malekite, the Chafeite, Ibadite and others. There should be no sects in Islam."

"The sects," he added, "constitute an imitation of the Christians, who have tried to divide Moslems and to create among them factions, parties and sects, in order to destroy the Islamic religion."

"Islam," he stated, "is not a religion of sects, but calls for a religion without sects." He offered as proof the following verse from the Koran: "Thou (Mohamed) art free from all those who have divided their religion into factions and parties." God having thus made his prophet innocent with respect to those who had created sects and parties.

"The sects and the parties having made their appearance during the life of the prophet and after his death," he stated, "were actually political parties which have no connection with religion. They constituted a pseudo-religious struggle for power without any connection with religion or with the Koran."

"The verses from the Koran," he said, "affirm the error and the mistake of the sects and show that they are contrary to the Koran."

Col Qadhdhafi underscored the necessity of becoming interested in and emphasizing the teaching of the Koran to the younger generations so that they understand that there are no sects such as the Malakite, Chafeite, Hanbalite, Ibadite sects in Islam: these do not exist in the Koran, which calls their followers unbelievers and declared its prophet innocent of them.

"The followers of sects," he stated, "do not want us to recite the verses which anathematize the sects and render the prophet innocent of them."

"Sectism and confessionalism which exist at this time are characteristics of heretics because their followers have tried to divide religion and to transform it into sects and parties, each one of which claims to hold the truth."

"Colonialism has encouraged the sects even more by asking certain jurisconsults to compose works on them and by granting them funds, because it knew that the sects are destroying Islam."

"The Italians," he stated, "charged certain Libyans with writing works on the sects in Libya, thus trying to destroy Islam."

"Every man, finally," he concluded, "is responsible before God for his acts, whether good or evil, for Islam and for the Koran. The parties and the sects are 'innovations' which serve no purpose on the day of the last judgment because they do not exist in the religion. Every man being directly responsible before God without the sect as an intermediary, or a sheik, or a mufti or a cadi."

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CSO: 4800

'AL-ZAHAF AL-AKHDAR' CALLS FOR REDEFINING OF THE ARAB

Paris BULLETIN QUOTIDIEN DE L'AGENCE JAMAHIRIYA PRESSE in French 15 Jul 80
pp 2-3

[Article: "The Magazine AL-ZAHAF AL-AKHDAR and Breaking of the Wall of Silence"]

[Text] Tripoli, 2 Ramadhan - 14 July (Jamahiriya News Agency)

In today's edition, the magazine AL-ZAHAF AL-AKHDAR affirmed that the re-writing of the history of the Arab nation is one of the first and most important matters to be discussed with the masses, who alone are concerned both in the first and in last instance. The magazine, which is published by the revolutionary committees, declared that the Arab nation is one of those which, in its history and in its culture, has received the greatest number of stab wounds on the part of the imperialist nations. The weakening and the crumbling have thus invaded the great countries of the Arab nation, which developed at the time of the birth of Islam. Under the title: "Breaking the Wall of Silence," the magazine declared that imperialism did everything in its power to introduce division within the bosom of the sons of the united fatherland, and which was unified geographically and historically, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Gulf, and to do that, relying, at times on the Arab-Berber ethnic origins, at times on the adherence to religious sects, Sunnite or Shiite, because the unity of the people and religious unity are the historic and cultural essence on the principles of which was constructed the Islamic nation, at the time of the birth of Islam. They are also the axis upon which lie the people's feelings and enthusiasms and on which the united Arab nation can be built. That nation saw reborn the splendor of the Arabs and of the Moslems and upheld their independence at the time of the grouping together and unification of the modern nations.

This magazine states that the speeches of the head of the great revolution of 1 September given over the last 2 days on the essential problems of the Arabs and of the Berbers, who for a long time lived under the yoke of imperialism and of its agents, these speeches constitute a way of breaking the wall of silence and of secrecy on a question that imperialism and its agents have tried to transform into a secret and minority cause, separated historically and culturally from its surroundings so as to raise to an international level the revolution for the rights of a people which demands its independence, going so far as to split from the Arab nation.

The magazine continued by saying that that is what Western imperialism is hoping for, with at its head America and France, that that is what it has been preparing for, for years, and that these preparations began to take form during the events in Algeria, in recent months, in Tizi-Ouzou (Kabilia) and the appearance in Morocco of the newspaper AMAZIR headed by Moroccan agents, who are part of the government majority.

The newspaper affirms that this affair is, in its principle, a creation of imperialism and of its agents in the region, aiming at dividing the Arab nation and creating small entities, linked to American and French imperialism in modern times.

The newspaper has affirmed that breaking the wall of silence on this question, particularly in North Africa, constitutes a solution which is opposed to imperialist attempts, and an authentic sign for an end to the equivocal situation linked to the history of the Arab nation in this region.

8956

CSO: 4400

PREPARATORY ACTIVITIES FOR SOCIALIST INTER-AFRICAN MEETING

Tunis DIALOGUE in French 21 Jul 80 pp 35, 34, 36, 37-45

[Meeting of Socialist InterAfrican Preparatory Committee in Tunis, interviews with Mzali, Boucetta, and Kooli. Final communique released]

[Text] The Socialist InterAfrican: Why? By Hammada

In the last days of February 1981 Tunis will host the constituent congress of the Socialist InterAfrican. Previously, on 3 and 4 December next, Dakar will have hosted a preparatory meeting to examine and assess the results of the contacts established with some African socialist parties. At the Tunis meeting, which was attended by the Mauritius Labor Party, the Istiqlal Party (Morocco), the Socialist Union of Popular Forces (Morocco), the Socialist Party of Senegal, the Socialist Union of the Sudan, and the Destourian Socialist Party (Tunisia), the draft charter and the bylaws of the Socialist InterAfrican were adopted in the expectation of being submitted to the congress by the member parties.

Yet, what needs does the Socialist InterAfrican meet? In a continent with 50 countries, some of them minute, the Socialist InterAfrican could constitute an element for rapprochement and understanding essentially among countries sharing the same ideal. It is important for the African countries which have chosen in favor of democratic socialism to know and consult each other and to coordinate their positions both in terms of problems facing Africa and those of common interest to mankind.

Naturally, there may be as many socialisms as socialist parties, since each country has its own understanding and approach based on specific factors, and its own way in the application of the socialist spirit. Nevertheless, the promoters of the Socialist InterAfrican have preferred to go for the essential which is the emancipation of the African person, by opting for maximum social justice.

The ruling African socialist parties frequently face enormous challenges. They must fight unemployment, give their country a medical, road, or water resource infrastructure, and fight ignorance and obscurantism by

opening schools and research institutes, while trying to block the nefarious effects and disastrous fallbacks caused by the worsening of international circumstances. Quite frequently the African countries see their development plans and forecasts shaken and shattered by the development of an international crisis whose most ruinous consequences they are experiencing powerlessly. In order to face all these problems regular consultation among the various African socialist parties would play a more than beneficial role.

On the other hand, in a continent where the dialogue between some countries has fallen short of expectations for, after all, the Africans do need to get to know each other better, the Socialist InterAfrican could serve as a link among Africans supporting democratic socialism.

On the level of relations between Africa and the rest of the world, the Socialist InterAfrican should help the African member countries to adopt coordinated positions as a result of extensive consultations and constant cooperation. In an age when crises throughout the world are multiplying, Africa must express its unambiguous views on a great number of matters and it would be proper for the positions taken by the African socialist parties to be noted by their cohesion and harmony. Furthermore, the Socialist InterAfrican could have fruitful relations with the Socialist International which, for example, deserves credit for having established contact with Yasser Arafat and to offer its mediation in the Iranian-American crisis. Incidentally, President Senghor is the vice president of the Socialist International.

During the Tunis meeting it was repeatedly pointed out that the creation of the Socialist InterAfrican was not aimed at any country or group of countries. "The Socialist InterAfrican," said Mongi Kooli, director of the PSD [Destourian Socialist Party], "cannot be an instrument for a hegemonistic crusade." "More likely," said Moustapha Niasse, Senegalese foreign affairs minister, "a privileged means for a useful dialogue among the various currents of thought throughout the world."

The following pages will shed light on the status of a democratic republic in Africa, as interpreted by Presidents Bourguiba and Senghor (excerpts from speeches delivered by the two heads of party and state on the occasion of the opening of the African parties conference on "Unified Development in Africa and the African Ways to Socialism," held in Tunis between 1 and 6 July, 1975).

Please also read the studies and projections by Mohamed Mzali, PSD secretary general, Mongi Kooli, PSD director and chairman of proceedings of the preparatory committee for the IAS [Socialist InterAfrican], Mohamed Boucetta, secretary general of the Istiqlal Party (Morocco), and Moustapha Niasse, secretary general of the Socialist Party of Senegal.

Preparatory Committee for the Socialist InterAfrican: Everything on the Tunis Meeting. By Slah Sghiri

"In all my meetings with President Senghor, in Dakar and in Tunis, the purpose of this conference has always been the focal point of our discussions. Neither of us has ever stopped thinking on African development and roads to socialism, to whose ideas and values the socialist step refers, and whose options they imply in terms of changing structures, creating prosperity, and establishing justice among men."

As Early As 1975 . . .

This happened 5 years ago, at the conference of African parties on "Planned Development in Africa and African Ways to Socialism," held from 1 to 6 July 1975 in Tunis. President Bourguiba, president of the PSD (Destourian Socialist Party) gave the tone, from the very beginning, in a historical speech, to this first conference of African socialist parties. This was a meeting which, as was specified in the invitation sent jointly by its two promoters, President Habib Bourguiba and President Leopold Sedar Senghor, to all African parties legally recognized in their countries, and the national liberation movements recognized by the OAU, was to allow all the participants to exchange views on the following topics:

- Development and planning in Africa;
- The people's participation and African development;
- Regional cooperation in Africa;
- Africa and international cooperation.

Thirty of the invited 36 parties and liberation movements actively participated in the proceedings of the conference. They were the following: ANC [African National Congress] (South Africa), FLN [National Liberation Front] (Algeria), FLNA [Angolan National Liberation Front] (Angola), MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] (Angola), UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] (Angola), UNC [Cameroonian National Union] (Cameroon), PCT [Congolese Labor Party] (Congo), PDCI [Democratic Party of the Ivory Coast] (Ivory Coast), USA (Egypt), PDG [Gabonese Democratic Party] (Gabon), PPP [People's Progressive Party] (Gambia), MOLINACO [National Liberation Movement of the Comoro Islands (Comoro Islands), PTM [Labor Party of Maritius] (Maritius), PMSD [Maritian Social Democratic Party] (Maritius), TWP [True Whig Party] (Liberia), USA (Mauritania), SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization (Namibia), MESAN [Movement for the Social Development of Black Africa] (Central African Republic), UPS [Senegalese Progressive Union] (Senegal), CRS (Somalia), USA (Sudan), PSD (Tunisia), MTR [Togolese Popular Movement] (Togo), PPT (Zaire), UNIP [United National Independence Party] (Zambia), and ANC [African National Congress] (Zimbabwe). Also

attending the conference as observers were representatives of the PLO, the Panafrikan Youth Union, the African Journalists' Union, and the Cairo African Society.

The political parties in Tanzania, Mozambique, Kenya, Guinea-Bissau and Burundi, unable to attend the conference, addressed to it messages of support and wishes for complete success.

As the final declaration was to emphasize, this first conference, both in the plenary meeting and the work of the committees, made it possible for the participants to submit "reports on the experience of their own countries in matters of development, thus enabling them to draw up 'a balance of their activities' and present 'in full freedom and in a fraternal atmosphere the ideology or political and economic systems they support.'" Specifically, and on the basis of an honest dialogue, they were able to achieve a "general consensus on questions and orientations." Rendering a vibrant homage to Presidents Bourguiba and Senghor, in addition to the series of recommendations it contained, the final declaration of this initial conference unanimously stipulated "that this conference shall be held once every 2 years and that the leading committee of the conference would become a permanent committee in charge of organizing the next conference to be held in July 1977, in one of the African capitals. They thus intend to assume their full responsibilities for the immense project of African development and the building of a prosperous and modern African society, based on justice, solidarity, and democracy." Gradually, several work meetings were held in Tunis and Dakar to formulate the documents stipulated by the Tunis conference. Let us mention among such meetings one of consultation among African socialist parties, held in Dakar, chaired by His Excellency Leopold Sedar Senghor, attended by the delegations of the USA of Egypt, the Gambian Progressive People's Party, the Voltan Democratic Union, the Moroccan Istiqlal, the Socialist Union of Popular Forces of Morocco, the Social Democratic Party of Mauritius, the Destourian Socialist Party of Tunis, and the Socialist Party of Senegal.

With this meeting a new stage was reached in the intensification of the dialogue and of equitable and united cooperation among them aimed at defining "an African way which could bring to our peoples peace, economic growth, and cultural development through African roots," as the final communique of this Fourth Conference emphasized. Let us single out the draft charter and internal regulation of a Socialist InterAfrican which were submitted for discussion. The drafts were adopted by the participants and "will be submitted to the leading bodies of the African socialist parties prior to their definitive adoption by a constituent congress" to be prepared by the secretariat in accordance with the instructions issued at that meeting.

Tunis, 13 and 14 July

The preparatory committee for the Socialist InterAfrican met in Tunis on 13 and 14 July 1980. Represented by high level officials, six parties participated in the works of this meeting, namely the Socialist Party of Senegal, the Istiqlal (Morocco), the Socialist Union of People's Forces (Morocco), the Arab Socialist Union of the Sudan, the Mauritius Labor Party, and the Destourian Socialist Party (Tunisia).

Organized to study the final considerations for the organization of a Socialist InterAfrican, the preparatory committee reached at its meeting the following main results:

- The holding of a constituent congress of the Socialist InterAfrican on 26, 27 and 28 February 1981 in Tunis;
- A preparatory meeting to be held in Dakar on 3 and 4 December 1980. This meeting will examine the results of contacts which will be established with some other African socialist parties which could become members of the IAS [Socialist InterAfrican], some of which had already participated in the September 1980 Dakar meeting;
- The mission of establishing contacts and studies was assigned to the following three parties: the Socialist Party of Senegal, the Istiqlal Party of Morocco, and the Destourian Socialist Party of Tunisia;
- There having been no remarks or amendments, the chart and internal regulation drafts (see reproduction), they nevertheless will become definitive only after an agreement has been reached on all the basic structures by the parties meeting in Tunis;
- Fourteen other African parties meeting the criteria for IAS membership were to be informed of the results of the proceedings of the Preparatory Committee.

Consequently, the clear wish of the participants was manifested at the Tunis meeting to speed up the establishment of this organization and the formulation of all the necessary means which would make it operationally effective (see the main unanimously adopted documents).

As this brief historical review clearly shows, the Socialist InterAfrican will be born soon as the ultimate completion of a long process and progressive consultations. Being the result of a frank and equalitarian dialogue and exchange of views on all basic options and specific methods of the individual parties, the IAS will effectively contribute to strengthening African ranks. Having no purposes other than to rally and promote multilateral cooperation among organizations with ideals inspired by democratic socialism, the IAS is not aimed at anyone even to the slightest degree.

Mohamed Mzali: We Must Cooperate in Order to Free Africa and Gradually Achieve Its Economic Integration and Complementary Nature

In the afternoon of 14 July the secretary general of the PSD received in the Party House, in the Kasbah, the members of the delegations which attended the IAS committee meeting.

Following is the full text of his address on that occasion.

On behalf of President Habib Bourguiba, the elder of the leaders and fighters for African emancipation, and founding president of the Destourian Socialist Party, on behalf of all my comrades of the Political Bureau as well as personally, I wish to welcome you in Tunis and tell you how happy I was for the positive results you reached so quickly and so calmly at the outcome of your efforts, results which promise the success of our Socialist InterAfrican.

I hope that in February 1981, as my comrade Mongi Kooli stated on your behalf, the Socialist InterAfrican will see the day and will enable us to implement common objectives both on the national level for each individual party as well as on the level of Africa.

On the national level, we all agree to work with a view to achieving greater social justice and for the socioeconomic and cultural freedom of the individual and the people.

We must also think of the youth, we must think of more integration, insure them a better future, and thus eliminate the causes for anguish which could afflict them, paralyze their activities and perhaps lead them into a negative behavior.

On the level of the African continent we must cooperate with a view to bringing down the last bastions of racism, colonialism, and imperialism, free Africa, and gradually achieve its economic integration and complementary nature, and progress toward an African union in order to reach eventually African unity.

This work, which will take several generations, can be accomplished only by stages. However, we must initiate it. So far, let us admit it, this work has been carried out in some cases on a very partial basis and with difficulty. We must work on the regional level, here and there in Africa, and set up subgroups and regional units. I previously cited the case of the Arab Maghreb which combines all the necessary objective possibilities to go forward, but where a kind of devil is continuing to block all positive and sincere action aimed at surmounting our contradictions and go forth in order to reach the level which existed--I must admit this--before our liberation. Along with some comrades present

here I belong to a generation which fought within North African student, sports and cultural associations. Consequently, it is not forbidden to dream but one must act in an objective manner, in my view, on the North African and African levels and in other parts of Western Africa. Thanks to the action taken by our parties, this target could be reached. The very fact that our parties are meeting within this inter-African unit offers the possibility to meet this target. Thus, we would continue the work of our elders who opened to us the way and, at the same time, be the forerunners of an African youth, both ambitious and questioning--in the good meaning of the term--, for we have chosen to give them a modern education. We have equally chosen to make our schooling progressive and open. We have eliminated the fatalism of our peoples. We have made them feel responsible. After an action which has taken decades we have taught our peoples to take their destinies in their own hands. It is normal for this youth to be restless, to want to participate more actively, more maturely, and more responsibly in the destiny of the African nation. Our parties must be able to face and prepare for this event.

In addition to this action on the national and inter-African level, we are faced with establishing ties, and with strengthening, with the fraternal socialist parties, the socialist parties which share the same objectives and ideology, who believe in socialism, i.e., in the liberation of man and the equitable distribution of the fruits of his toil, parties which are fighting all types of oppression suffered by man today. Together we could play a role with a view to achieving a better world, the ideal city described by the Arab philosopher El Farabi, mentioned by many utopian sociologists and socialists. However, it is up to man to act with a view to achieving his dreams. The history of mankind is full of dreams which might have seemed too optimistic but which both common men and party members were able to achieve: the independence of Tunisia, Morocco, Senegal, or Algeria, or of any other African country was, 30 to 40 years ago, a dream, a mad dream. Yet, thanks to the struggle of the people and the suffering experienced and accepted by the people engaged in collective labor, supporting the aspirations of party members, these dreams became reality.

Since I am speaking to you in French, before ending this short speech, I would like to say welcome to Jean Rous, a great activist and great friend, here present, who is not an African but who has spent virtually his entire life not only working for socialism but also for African emancipation and freedom.

We were holding meetings as early as 1947, 1948, and 1949, when I was a student. We acted together and Jean Rous was then considered the public enemy of the reactionaries, the extremists, the colonialists, the preponderants, as we used to call them. Even though he was the target of this blind hatred of colonialists of all hues, Jean Rous remained loyal to this battle, for Jean Rous has a great heart, he is a fighter who has

been and will continue to be the friend of the Africans and the fellow traveler along this long march toward African dignity and liberation.

On a personal basis, as a friend of Jean Rous for 33 years, as secretary general of the Destourian Socialist Party, and on behalf of President Bourguiba, I would like to wish him welcome and express personally my admiration for this fire which has inspired him for the past 33 years. This fire has always inspired and illuminated him, and he has many things he could teach some young people who, at the age of 35 or 30, may be worn out. Jean Rous will never wear out. He is always there, loyally committed to the battle.

Dear comrades, once again, I wish you welcome and I fraternally express my optimism as well as my determination, on behalf of my comrades of the Political Bureau, to act with you with a view to promoting African unity, and African dignity to which this Socialist InterAfrican could and should greatly contribute.

Mongi Kooli: "Tunisia is Naturally Predisposed to Host Such Meetings

Opening speech by Mongi Kooli at the Preparatory Committee meeting.

It is a great honor for me to take the floor at the opening of the meeting of the special committee in charge of drafting the plan for the creation of the Socialist InterAfrican. On this happy occasion it is my pleasure and duty to welcome you on behalf of President Bourguiba, the Political Bureau, and on my own behalf as the eminent representatives of fraternal parties and to wish you a warm welcome on Tunisian soil. The pleasant initiative you have taken to hold this meeting in Tunis, in the Destourian Socialist Party House, has touched us profoundly. We see in this an homage rendered to the supreme fighter, President Habib Bourguiba, the elder of fighting Africa, as well as a proof of friendship and esteem for our country and its party. Please consider this the expression of our warm and profound gratitude.

Tunisia, an African land with a thousand-years-old history and privileged geographic location, feels naturally predisposed to host such meetings. As a real melting pot of civilizations, Tunisia has always been a land of friendship, hospitality, and tolerance. Today Bourguibian Tunisia is more than ever determined to remain loyal to its authentic traditions as a bridge which brings together and unites. As a link between the Arab and African worlds, and as a window of the African continent opening on the Mediterranean and Europe, today Tunisia can only be legitimately proud of welcoming all the representatives of the valiant fighters for democratic socialism in Africa who have come, in the same thrust, to seek justice and progress and lay the foundations for our future Socialist InterAfrican.

Dear comrades!

The judicious idea of creating this Socialist InterAfrican saw the day, as you may recall, several years ago. In 1975, in July, to be precise, a conference of African parties on planned development and African ways to socialism took place in Tunis. The holding of this important conference, organized on the initiative of Presidents Habib Bourguiba and Leopold Sedar Senghor, two prestigious defenders of the African cause and pioneers of democratic socialism in Africa, was the prelude of a series of periodical meetings in Tunis and Dakar held among African socialist parties. In the course of these meetings the idea of creating a Socialist InterAfrican made its way and major stages on the way to its implementation have been crossed.

Let us render great homage to all the comrades who, for a number of years, have dedicated themselves to the laborious process of consultations and considerations. The efforts which they generously made have enabled us to reach, today, this ultimate stage in the organization of the Socialist InterAfrican whose creation is a common aspiration. Indeed, all of us are convinced that the Socialist InterAfrican will make it possible to give the African continent a new fighting tool to promote its emancipation and development, and the progress of its peoples. Beyond their characteristics, inherent in the realities of their respective countries, the African socialist parties must, within the framework of their future organization, find similarities and act in concert on a continuing basis.

Indeed, they are aware of the fact that without the strengthening of permanent solidarity among themselves, neither national nor inter-African targets would be met. The Socialist InterAfrican will provide them with an effective means for promoting, in a spirit of equality and mutual respect, the fruitful and permanent coordination of their activities. No longer disunited, henceforth they will be open to a dialogue, enriching through their different currents political thinking throughout the world.

Now that the most difficult part is done and the draft charter of our Socialist InterAfrican has been completed, we could consider the measures to be adopted for the holding of a constituent congress which I would wish to happen very soon.

The Destourian Socialist Party will be pleased and honored to host it. As of now, we must intensify contacts with African parties which support democratic socialism and which could join us. I am convinced that they share with us our belief, so frequently reasserted by the supreme fighter, President Habib Bourguiba, in the need to tighten up our ranks and help one another. Regardless of the variety of our experiences, which we reciprocally respect, we have in common the great importance we ascribe to planned development, the efficient organization of productive forces, and respect for basic human freedoms and rights.

The similarity of our tasks and the common nature of our aspirations are further strengthened by our support for national independence and our rejection of any interference or imperialist, colonialist, racist, or Zionist hegemony.

With such an outlook, the Socialist InterAfrican cannot be, as I deeply believe, the tool of some kind of ideological crusade. Quite to the contrary, it could only effectively contribute to the development of international relations on a more democratic basis and insure the triumph of a new world economic order, more equitable and more human.

Dear comrades:

I am certain that this present meeting will be a landmark in history and that we shall be able to complete the exalting task undertaken by our fraternal parties for a number of years.

Once again I welcome you and wish you full success and a pleasant stay with us.

Interview with M'Hamed Boucetta, secretary general of the Istiqlal Party, conducted by Moncef Mahrough: An InterAfrican For Progress and Development

DIALOGUE: In your view, what profile will develop at the completion of the work of the preparatory committee for the Socialist InterAfrican?

M'Hamed Boucetta: First of all, as it was conceived, it will be an Inter-African framework which will enable political organizations which are trying to turn Africa into a continent of development and a continent seeking justice for the different social classes which make Africa, to turn this into reality. This was the basis. This shape will also make it possible to emphasize the various activities. This means that it will be a question of establishing contacts with all political forces in the different African countries with a view to attaining this main objective. This will make it possible, first of all, to attack the real African problems related to the economy and development. This will also make it possible to emphasize further the solidarity among African peoples. This will be necessary, first of all, in order to undertake the solution of their own problems. Secondly, to face problems related to other continents. Finally, to find a base for action with a view to making Africa a united and unified continent in terms of the positions it should adopt on international problems.

[Question] How do you conceive the role of this Socialist InterAfrican in terms of that of the Organization of African Unity?

[Answer] The OAU is, first of all, an organization which was conceived and developed on the governmental level. Here it is a question of an organization whose activities will be based on the political forces of

political parties. You may tell me that in Africa, in most cases, the parties are, first of all, only parties in most countries. Furthermore, you may say that these parties are themselves ruling parties. This, however, does not prevent the existence of a difference between an organization consisting of political organizations and an organization consisting of governmental organizations. I believe that this InterAfrican, if we wish to have an InterAfrican dedicated to progress and social justice, could even have an impact, the type of impact which a party could have on the executive branch and the government. This would not be the case of each of us in terms of his own country but of all of us together in terms of the entire continent.

[Question] In Africa socialism is practiced in accordance with the specific awarenesses and approaches of the individual countries. What are the criteria for participating in the Socialist InterAfrican?

[Answer] First of all, we must say that it is a question of a democratic Socialist InterAfrican, for, as far as we are concerned, I mean the Istiqlal Party, it is a question of insuring in Africa freedom of expression, freedom of organization, and freedom of political, trade union, and cultural action. That is the essential. That is one of the main criteria we have adopted. Furthermore, we would wish greater social justice. First, we wish social justice then a better social justice. This is one of the essential criteria included, for example, in the program of the Istiqlal Party, seen and conceived as equalitarianism. This means that the citizen must be offered equal opportunity in all areas in the country so that he may blossom and develop. This way he can make his country strong, developed, and able not only to face its own problems but even external problems.

Therefore, this means equality of opportunity in terms of employment and distribution of resources in the country and equal opportunity on the cultural and political levels. Actually, these are the criteria which have been selected in defining the political organizations which could participate in this InterAfrican. I believe that on this level as well, as confirmed by the trend of the discussions, a certain flexibility is needed in the contacts which we shall establish with each other. We have differing concepts. Whether it is a question of East Africa, West Africa, North Africa, or South Africa, we must bring our views closer to each other so that all these criteria may be seen and conceived in the same manner. Consequently, flexibility is absolutely necessary in our contacts. It would enable us to become acquainted with our African brothers. However, I am convinced that the political organizations which fought for the independence of their country, which fought and continue to fight for the happiness and welfare of their peoples, will find common grounds on the main features. Minor differences may remain but these organizations will find themselves operating on precisely the same wavelength in terms of essential and main African affairs.

Think, for example, what it is that brings together the Istiqlal Party and the PSD. First, the deep roots of our common history. Such relations were further consolidated and strengthened in the struggle for independence and in the development of our regional unit, the Arab Maghreb. The problems which currently demand of us to unite include, first of all, the need to face anything which would tend to destabilize us and infringe upon our independence.

Let me take another example: The relations which unite the PSD and Senegalese Socialist Party. These relations are very old, very strong, and very important.

I could say the same of countries which are geographically distant from us but which face the problems which we do.

Mongi Kooli, director of the Destourian Socialist Party and chairman of the proceedings of the Tunis Preparatory Committee: By unanimously accepting that the constituent congress of the Socialist InterAfrican be held in Tunis the representatives of the fraternal parties are rendering homage to the Supreme Fighter.

DIALOGUE: You were elected to preside the work of the Preparatory Committee of the Socialist InterAfrican. Could you share with our readers the essence of the discussions which took place among the representatives of the participating parties in the course of the proceedings?

Mongi Kooli: Yes, but first I would like to emphasize, yet once again, the spirit of perfect cordiality which was displayed by the representatives of the participating parties throughout their work. The total understanding and identity of views were the foundations for the success of the meeting and, unquestionably, represent the best omen for the future.

As to the tenor of the proceedings, let me remind you that there were three items on the agenda: examination of the draft charter and the internal regulation of the Socialist InterAfrican, the setting of a date and place for the constituent congress, and the drawing up of a list of African parties which could be invited to participate.

Let us say that as far as the charter and internal rules are concerned, their drafting and the discussion on this subject were already completed in Dakar, in September 1978, by the territory committee. For this reason, in the course of the Tunis meeting, they were not subjected to any remarks or amendments. Simply, it was recommended that they be submitted to the respective parties for their approval.

Having quickly settled this initial item, it was decided at the meeting to take up the second item, i.e., the material preparations for the constituent congress. The Preparatory Committee accepted the invitation of

the Supreme Fighter to hold the constituent congress of the Socialist InterAfrican in Tunis. The date was fixed for 26, 27 and 28 February 1981. I am pleased, on behalf of the Destourian Socialist Party, to thank most profoundly the representatives of the fraternal parties for having favorably accepted President Bourguiba's offer. By unanimously accepting that this historical congress be held in the Tunisian capital, they are giving homage to the Supreme Fighter, the elder of the African leaders and hero of the glorious struggle for the liberation and emancipation of the African continent.

Finally, let me add that the congress will be preceded by a final meeting of the Preparatory Committee which will be held in Dakar on 3 and 4 December 1980 to finalize the last preparations and establish the agenda.

Let me now discuss the last item, the drawing up of a list of African parties to be invited either as participants or observers. The examination of this item led to a long and frank discussion at the outcome of which it was agreed to assign the information duties to the following parties: Istiqlal, PSS, PSD, and PTM, with a view to establishing contacts with a certain number of African parties in order to inform them of the progress achieved in the preparations for the congress and acquire specific knowledge as to their eventual participation.

The parties assigned to make such contacts will report on their respective missions to the Preparatory Committee in the course of its Dakar meeting in December 1980.

[Question] Have you defined the socialist model to be adopted by the InterAfrican?

[Answer] In my view, it would be premature to define on an academic basis "the socialist model which will be adopted by the InterAfrican." Let us rather say that there is a consensus among the African socialist parties which will meet as to the content and specific nature of such socialism.

Naturally, it will be a democratic socialism which will firmly reject the concepts of the class struggle which, in addition to the fact that it inevitably leads to a society based on violence, would be inconsistent with the traditional structures of African society and its history. Instead, it will be an economic democracy based on the harmony, solidarity, and free cooperation among all social categories. It will try, in this sense, and as specified by the Supreme Fighter President Habib Bourguiba, at the 1975 Tunis Conference, "to organize the society in terms of production elements and to rally these elements in socioprofessional organizations as partners concerned with development, assuming decision and implementation responsibilities, within the framework of a coordinated and equitably balanced dialogue."

This socialism will also opt for strict yet realistic economic planning which will be considered the principal means for guiding development such as to allow it to reach the stipulated targets and avoid, at the same time, social and regional anarchy and imbalances.

All in all, the socialism supported by the parties of the Socialist Inter-African will try to develop, in peace, agreement, and popular support, a just society in which equal opportunities shall be secured for every individual with no discrimination whatever, and in which the distribution of the national income will be as equitable as possible.

The Socialist InterAfrican, therefore, will remain deeply attached to the basic freedoms and respect for human rights in accordance with its belief that man is supreme and is the privileged instrument in any development action. Thus, the African person has been called upon to participate, freely and conscientiously, in the life and future of the community in accordance with specifically African civilization values.

[Question] The final communique stipulates that contacts will be established with some African political groups in such a way as to inform them of the state of progress of the preparations for the congress to be held shortly. Is it a question only of parties which participated in the 1975 Tunis meeting, where planned development in Africa was discussed, or will such contacts be more extensive and wider?

[Answer] Actually, as I have just specified, contacts will shortly be established with a large number of African political groups. It is self-evident that the final list of the African parties which will participate in the congress will be adopted only when the parties in charge of the information assignments I mentioned will have reported on their activities to the Preparatory Committee in the course of its final session, on 3 and 4 December 1980, in Dakar.

However, let us emphasize that the conference of African parties on planned African development, and on the African ways to socialism, held in Tunis between 1 and 6 July 1975, was attended by 30 parties and liberation movements which effectively participated in the proceedings of said conference.

As to the holding of the constituent congress of the Socialist Inter-African in 1981, it will be far more specific compared with the conference of African parties of July 1975 to which you referred. This will be based on the charter to be submitted to the approval of the African political groups. That is the reason for which the Preparatory Committee has taken the properly justified decision to invite automatically, as founding members, the African parties which participated in the Dakar Preparatory Committee, which met in September 1978.

The other political groups which could join the Socialist InterAfrican and, therefore, participate in the 1981 constituent congress, will be consulted, as I just mentioned, by one or another of the parties to which such information mission has been assigned, in accordance with the stipulations of the recent meeting of the Preparatory Committee.

This means that contact activities will be extensive and widespread. The list of the participants in the Tunis congress will be, therefore, neither restrictive nor exclusive. I can even state that it will not be definitive, and that the Socialist InterAfrican will always remain open to any African party supporting its ideals and its charter.

[Question] How would it be possible to harmonize the activities of the Socialist InterAfrican with those of the other regional political and ideological entities currently existing in Africa?

[Answer] I believe that the activities of the Socialist InterAfrican will not be incompatible with the activities of one or another regional entity. Quite to the contrary, the Socialist InterAfrican, which will essentially be a body for regular concertation and will accept the diversity of African socialist experience and of the economic and social realities specific to each country, can only favor the development of solidarity among African countries and strengthen the spirit of cooperation among them. What we have in common is our support of planned development, the efficient organization of production forces, the equitable distribution of the national income, and respect for basic human rights and freedoms. It is precisely within the framework of such convictions that the Socialist InterAfrican will act. Such coordination activities, fruitful and permanent, and based on mutual equality and respect, will not conflict with the activities of other political entities.

[Question] In your opening speech you specified that the future organization will not be the instrument of any kind of ideological crusade. Whereas a crusade may not be part of the Socialist International, it could be part of other ideological entities whose slogan is to fight those who do not share their beliefs. In such a case, what would be the position of your organization?

[Answer] In all sincerity, I can give you no better answer than what I said at the opening of the meeting of the Preparatory Committee. In our view, the Socialist InterAfrican is not a weapon aimed at anyone. I repeat, our organization supports, above all, an organized framework within which the African parties which believe in democratic socialism will be able, beyond their specific characteristics, inherent in the specific reality of their respective countries, to look for similarities and engage in steady concertation. The Socialist InterAfrican, consequently, will provide them with an effective tool for promoting a fruitful and permanent coordination of their actions in a spirit of equality and mutual respect.

Thus conceived, it could not be the instrument of an ideological crusade. Therefore, as being essentially an instrument for concertation and dialogue, it could not conceive that its relations with other political currents would involve a conflict. Quite to the contrary, it will always be open to enriching contacts with such currents and not only on the level of the African continent but on the international level as well. This will be based on the freedom of choice and reciprocal respect, and outside of any inclination toward ideological hegemony.

As far as we are concerned, our line of behavior has already been earmarked: It consists of tolerance, openness, and dialogue. We have no intention whatsoever to impose our views on others. However, nor do we intend to allow others to dictate upon us their own. Is this not a democratic rule we all claim to support?

The cause of African development is too important to allow us to exhaust our energy in ideological polemics. It would be desirable for the entire potential of our continent to avoid being submerged by trends toward ideological hegemony, whatever their origin, and firmly put themselves at the service of our common cause: create prosperity and establish social justice among men.

[Question] There is today a Socialist International which rallies several parties of Europe, Asia, and Africa. Does your organization consider establishing relations with it, and of what nature?

[Answer] Naturally, the Socialist InterAfrican, whose faith in the need for a dialogue I have just emphasized, will try to have fraternal and fruitful cooperation relations with the Socialist International. The fact that some African parties will belong to both organizations simultaneously will facilitate the establishment of such relations. Actually, should we recall that President Leopold Sedar Senghor, who was by the side of the Supreme Fighter, President Habib Bourguiba, the promoter of the Socialist InterAfrican, is also the vice president of the Socialist International. Let me even say that this double affiliation will be an advantage to our future organization in the sense that it will facilitate exchanges and make concertation possible.

Final Communiqué

The Preparatory Committee of the Socialist InterAfrican held its fifth session at the Destourian Socialist Party House in Tunis, on 13 and 14 July 1980, in the presence of the representatives of the following parties:

- Istiqlal, Morocco;
- Socialist Union of Popular Forces, Morocco;
- Socialist Union of the Sudan;
- Labor Party of Mauritius;
- Socialist Party of Senegal; and
- Destourian Socialist Party.

The proceedings of the session, chaired by Mongi Kooli, PSD director, held in harmony and friendship, dealt with preparations for the final stage leading to the birth of the Socialist InterAfrican.

In his opening speech, after welcoming the representatives of the African socialist parties on behalf of the Supreme Fighter, Kooli emphasized the opportunity to "given the African continent a new combat weapon to serve its emancipation and development, and the development of its peoples," expressing the wish that this "final stage" be crowned by the holding of the constituent congress which the PSD and its leader would be pleased and honored to host in Tunis. In his answer, Moustapha Niasse, Senegal's minister of foreign affairs and head of delegation, expressed, on behalf of the participants, "the feelings of deep respect and admiration for the prestigious goal of 'modern Tunisia,'" recalling the role which Presidents Bourguiba and Senghor played in the development of an original thought such as the Socialist InterAfrican.

Since no remarks were made on the subject of the draft charter and internal rule of the Socialist InterAfrican, following their formulation and adoption at the Dakar meeting, in September 1978, it was agreed to consider the final stage of preparations for the constituent congress of the IAS. The Tunis session, consequently, dealt with the establishment of a date and place for the congress and the drafting of a list of parties to be invited as participants or observers.

After a wide, frank and fraternal exchange of views, the following decision was passed:

1. To accept the invitation of the Supreme Fighter, President Bourguiba, to hold the constituent congress of the IAS in Tunis on 26, 27, and 28 February 1981.
2. To hold in Dakar, on 3 and 4 December 1980, a final meeting of the Preparatory Committee, with a view to completing the final preparations for the congress and draw up its agenda.
3. To invite automatically to the congress, as founders, the parties which took part in the preparatory work.
4. Assignments were given to the Istiqlal, the Socialist Party of Senegal, the Mauritanian Labor Party, and the Destourian Socialist Party to establish contacts with some African political groups in order to inform them of the state of progress of the preparations for the congress and note their reactions. The parties in charge of such contacts will report on their missions at the December 1980 Preparatory Committee session.

Following the completion of their work the participants were received by Mohamed Mzali, prime minister and PSD secretary general, who reasserted

the firm desire of Tunisia to strengthen African independence and promote concertation, dialogue, and cooperation among its countries, peoples, and civilizations.

In his speech to the participants, Mongi Kooli emphasized that the works of the IAS Preparatory Committee were crowned with success and that the good will shown by all participants shows their attachment to the cause of African socialism and the objectives stipulated by Presidents Bourguiba and Senghor. "I am convinced," he said, "that the crossing of these first steps will bring us closer to the type of Africa which our leaders have taught us to serve and love."

The party director added that in a few months the IAS constituent congress will be held in Tunis. "This will be a holiday for the entire African continent," Kooli said, expressing his satisfaction at the trust put by the Africans in Tunisia, its party, and its president, the Supreme Fighter Habib Bourguiba.

The Draft Charter

As specified in the final communique, this draft charter was not discussed in Tunis following its formulation and adoption at the Dakar meeting.

Convinced of the need for regular concertation among African parties supporting democratic socialism;

Aware of the fact that the national and inter-African objectives cannot be met without strengthening the solidarity among African socialist parties;

Considering that, despite the diversity of African socialist experiences and the economic and social realities specific to each country, there is a broad consensus as to the content and specific nature of democratic socialism in Africa,

The African socialist parties reassert the following:

That democratic socialism is the only means leading to the development of their countries and the liberation of their peoples from all forms of exploitation and alienation;

That African development must be directed toward the development of a just society in which equal opportunities will be provided to every individual with no discrimination whatever;

That this development requires both an efficient organization of productive forces, through economic planning, and an equitable distribution of the national income.

Furthermore, the African socialist parties reassert:

That they deeply support the basic freedoms and respect for human rights, in accordance with their ideology, based on the fact that man remains the supreme end and privileged instrument of all development actions;

That the essence and the final purpose of a democratic society are the free and the conscious participation of the individual in the life and future of the community, in accordance with specific African civilization values;

That such participation implies the separation of powers, and the guarantee of public and trade union freedoms and the democratic functioning of their parties;

That they consider nonalignment a common strategy in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, racism, Zionism, and any other form of hegemony and for the development of international cooperation and the prevalence of a just and durable peace among peoples and nations;

That they must pursue their struggle for the democratization of international relations and the building of a new global economic order.

For this reason they have decided to create a federation of African socialist parties, to be known as the Socialist InterAfrican, in order to promote, in a state of equality and mutual respect, the fruitful and permanent coordination of their actions.

Members of the Socialist InterAfrican shall be the parties signatories of the present charter; membership can equally be extended to African liberation movements recognized by the OAU which will support the present charter.

Associate African organizations may participate as observers.

The mission of the Socialist InterAfrican shall be the following:

To strengthen the ties of solidarity among member parties;

To work for the free coordination of the policies of these parties;

To promote and strengthen bilateral and multilateral relations among youth organizations and their respective parties;

To encourage any activity which would provide active support to national liberation struggles;

To promote and strengthen African unity and inter-African and international cooperation on the basis of the principles defined by the United Nations Charter and the charter of the Organization of African Unity;

To establish friendship and solidarity relations with regional and international organizations supporting the ideal of democratic socialism.

The leading organs of the Socialist InterAfrican shall be:

The congress;

The general council; and

The bureau.

The congress shall be the supreme instance of the Socialist InterAfrican. It shall determine the orientation of the IAS in all areas, adopt its internal rules, and introduce amendments.

The general council of the IAS shall guide the organization between congresses.

The bureau shall be the body of liaison and coordination among the members of the IAS (and between the IAS and similar organizations).

It shall consist of three vice presidents and an executive secretary. It shall supervise the implementation of the decisions of the congresses and the general council.

The operations of the Socialist InterAfrican shall be defined in the internal rules added to the present charter.

Draft Internal Rules

The present internal rules which complete the charter shall define the way of functioning of the leading organs of the Socialist InterAfrican, which are:

- The congress;
- The general council; and
- The bureau.

1. The Congress:

The congress shall be the supreme instance of the Socialist InterAfrican.

It shall define the orientation of activities of the IAS in all areas.

It shall adopt the internal rules of the IAS and pass on the amendment of such rules.

It shall examine the motions of the general council on the affiliation of the African socialist parties and pass on their admission and on the subject of associate organizations.

It shall determine the number of members of the IAS council, designate them, and designate the members of the organization's bureau.

It shall define the criteria governing the payment of membership fees to the IAS.

The congress shall consist of representatives of all member parties.

Each party shall be represented by a delegation not to exceed five members. The delegations of associate organizations may not consist of more than two members.

Each member party shall have a single vote and decisions shall be made on the basis of a two-thirds majority.

The congress shall meet once every two years in ordinary sessions; by request of two-thirds of the members it shall meet in extraordinary session.

2. The General Council:

The general council shall consist of one representative per member party.

It shall consider political problems between congresses.

It shall consider requests for membership by African socialist parties and requests for associate status with a view to recommending them to the congress.

It shall summon the congress and set the date, place, and agenda.

It shall examine the periodical reports submitted by the bureau.

It shall adopt the annual IAS budget and establish the membership dues to be paid by member parties in accordance with the criteria stipulated by the congress.

The general council shall meet twice annually. Its decisions shall be passed by two-thirds majority.

3. The Bureau

The IAS bureau shall consist of a president, three vice presidents, and an executive secretary. Its tasks shall be:

The implementation of decisions and activity programs stipulated by the congress and the IAS general council;

The coordination among member parties;

The formulation of the draft IAS budget.

The president of the IAS shall guide the bureau and preside over its meetings. He shall represent the organization in all social actions and in dealing with other bodies.

The executive secretary shall be in charge of technical preparations for the meetings of the congress, the general council, and the bureau.

He shall draft the minutes of such meetings;

Organize the exchange and dissemination of information supplied by member parties;

See to the proper handling of IAS finances and keep the books;

Manage the assets of the organization;

Submit an annual financial report to the council;

Collect membership dues, gifts, and various contributions;

Be the keeper of the archives.

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